Stesichoros's Geryoneis

PAUL CURTIS

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Stesichoros's *Geryoneis*

By

Paul Curtis

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Dedicated to the memory of
Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood

καὶ σὲ μέν, πότνι', Ἀργεία
πεντηκόντερος οἶκον ἄξει·
συρίζων θ' ὁ κηρόδετος
Πανὸς οὐρείου κάλαμος
κώπαις ἐπιθωΰξει,
ὁ Φοῖβός θ' ὁ μάντις ἔχων
κέλαδον ἑπτατόνου λύρας
ἀείδων ἄξει λιπαρὰν
εὖ σ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ γᾶν.

(E. *IT* 1123–1131)

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PREFACE

In 1566, as part of a Greek lyric anthology, Stephanus revealed to the modern world the first excerpts of the *Geryoneis*. This early edition offered only two book quotations, Strabo 3.2.11 and Athenaios 11.469e. To accompany these were some testimonia on Stesichoros's life and art. Two years later in another collection came Ursinus's edition. Some progress had clearly been made: another book quotation had been identified, again from Athenaios (11.499a–b), more testimonia were included, the most significant of which those in the letters of Phalaris and in scholia, viz. Σ A.R.1.211, Σ H. *Th.*287; also included was the first proper reference to the song (Paus.8.3.2). In 1771, Suchfort was the first to produce a volume devoted completely to Stesichoros. All known sources relating to every Stesichorean were collected in this edition. Also included was some elementary commentary. Still with only three book quotations, came the efforts of Hermann (ap. Friedemann) in 1818 and Blomfield in 1826. Progress was marginal in these passing years. In Kleine's 1828 edition, a more developed and sophisticated analysis of the Stesichorean *corpus* emerged. In this volume a greater emphasis was placed on the biographical tradition and the poet's use of metre. Bergk's edition (1843^1) added some extra notes. At this point in time the efforts of the above provided the basic foundation for the numerous lyric anthologies that followed.

Stesichorean scholarship for the next hundred years or so did not advance much until 1967 when Lobel published some new fragments. These papyri fragments were received by scholars with great excitement, and soon initiated a fresh interest in the *Geryoneis*. The new fragments were important for many reasons: most importantly, was the fact that for the first time a definite metrical scheme could be discerned; also, because the papyri contained many lectional signs, it was now possible to outline the song's stanza structure. All this had an obvious effect on what had been said by Bergk et al. a hundred years previously. Many of their ideas about the song's structure and format had to be reviewed, and in some cases abandoned. Webster's (1969) brief and descriptive article was the first to review the song's metre. Four years later Page wrote an article which was the first thorough and detailed analysis of the *Geryoneis* since the discovery of the new fragments. Many of the ideas set out in Page's commentary were in fact those of Barrett's, who, back in 1968, had

given voice to them at an Oxford lecture.[1] The greatest contribution of the article was its arrangement of the fragments. This sequence, together with the initial remarks of Lobel, had proved to be commanding: so much so that much of the secondary literature that followed was rather dull, often only serving to regurgitate ideas already voiced by Lobel and Page. Many of these efforts Lazerri has gathered in his recent doxography (2008). There were some exceptions however: in particular Davies (1979), who wrote some good commentary on the *Geryoneis* and other Stesichoros fragments, and, of course, the present edition.

Those reading the works of Stesichoros for the first time may wonder why the poet was, and still is, considered so important. Stesichoros was from Himera, a city in Sicily, and generally considered today to have been active some time around the late 7th / early 6th century BCE. This period was one of colonization for Greeks, with colonies being established all over the West, some reaching as far as Sardinia and Spain. Herakles played an important part in this movement. Unlike the Homeric heroes who sought recognition for their bravery, Herakles often wandered the periphery of the known world with only a few possessions, 'visiting the inhabited earth, inflicting punishment upon the unjust and slaying the wild beasts that make the land uninhabitable'.[2] In some respects Herakles embodied the Greek settler. His presence must have had a profound effect on the people and the lands he visited on his travels: being the slayer of wild things he was a cultural hero whose passage brought civilization and so the basis of the *polis*. Consequently, Herakles played a key part in Greek colonization and the diffusion of Herakles's myths and cult worship had greater importance and function in Magna Graeca than anywhere else in the Greek world during this period.[3] The myths telling of Herakles's actions in the West—although many of these are very late—have survived relatively well and no doubt had some aetiological function for festivals and the cult worship of the hero.

Stesichoros showed a keen interest in Herakles.[4] He wrote at least four songs about Herakles. If one is to view Stesichoros's songs as choral, viz. performed at a festival as an expression of cult worship, it follows then

[1] Page opens this article with the acknowledgement of his debt. Barrett's thoughts on the poem have recently been published (2007).

[2] Vid. D.S.5.76. Cf. Claud. *In Rufin.*79–80 haec terruit Herculis ora et defensores terrarum polluit arcus.

[3] Vid. Kingsley 1995.274–277.

[4] Apart from the *Geryoneis* there is not much extant evidence for these: nothing remains of his poem *Skylla*, only a passing reference by the scholiast on Apollonios

that he must have played an important role for Greeks trying to establish themselves in Sicily. Pursuing the idea of Stesichoros as a choral poet is, of course, nothing new. What is new and exciting here, however, is to consider his songs in the context of a cult. Very little work hitherto has been done on this topic, and it is one that opens many new possibilities, viz. the cult worship of other figures in the *corpus*, e.g. Helen. Given the historical background of this period, there were probably many festivals dedicated to Herakles, and indeed perhaps Geryon, all of which were probably spread all over the Western Mediterranean. Stesichoros's *Geryoneis*, although fragmentary, is one of the best surviving choral songs of this era.

The other side to the *Geryoneis* is, of course, Geryon. Triple-headed monsters are found all over the northern hemisphere and appear common in many traditions, for example Vedic, Avestan and Celtic. The monster of the *Geryoneis* looks to have been an indigenous deity of Sicily. In many ways the triumph of Herakles over Geryon is emblematic of Greece's conquest in the West. This view has been held for some time now.[5] What seems remarkable about Stesichoros's telling of the Geryon story is the sympathy with which the poet presents Geryon. It appears strange that such a fearful creature should be portrayed in such a manner. This feature of the poem, although long recognized,[6] has never really been explained. An explanation could be provided, however, when the song is placed within its religious context. For an audience watching the *Geryoneis* at a festival, a sympathetic portrayal of Geryon, would probably cause them to feel pity for the monster. Sympathy felt for a fallen and unfortunate figure was an important feature of cult worship. So too are feelings of being 'hard done by': if a hero suffers a death that is in some way unjust, manifestations of his hostility soon became apparent. There is some evidence in the song and in later testimonia that Herakles's raid on Erytheia, Geryon's island, was indeed an unjust one (e.g. *Gery.*8.10). As well as adding pathos to the monster's demise, any injustice felt by Geryon would rouse him, even after death, to become hostile towards Herakles and his descendants. The offending Greeks, having

(4.825–831). Also lost is Stesichoros's telling of Herakles's battle with the son of Ares, Kyknos. The poet's *Kyknos*, however is attested by the scholiast on Pindar (*Ol.*10.19). Pollux, the 2nd century C.E scholar and rhetorician mentions Stesichoros's *Kerberos* in his rhetorical handbook: only the title of the poem remains (10.152).

5 Vid. Dunbabin 1948.330.

6 E.g. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1991.

realized their error, would fear reprisals and appease Geryon in some way. This need to propitiate Geryon would result in the initiation of a cult.

Variation and idiosyncrasy have always featured in the Greek narrative tradition, yet Stesichoros's treatment of myth is remarkable. During the 6th century, poets, such as Stesichoros, started, it seemed, to departure somewhat from long-established myths. Besides his *Geryoneis*, the most obvious example of Stesichoros's poetic creativity is his claim that Helen did not go to Troy, but that what the Greeks saw there was her phantom (Pl. *Phdr.*243a). The rewriting of traditional myths characterized later Attic tragedy; this might have been something picked up from an earlier choral tradition. There is, of course, the on-going difficulty of trying to establish who influenced whom and so forth: not knowing what or who preceded Stesichoros obviously does not help. It might be that Stesichoros was a one-off; his ability to transfuse epic verse into such elaborate and ornate choral stanzas was something particular to him. Whatever was the case, his poetry, or at least the tradition of which he was part, probably had some impact on later 5th century poetry, not only on Attic tragedians but also on later choral poets, such as Pindar and Bakchylides.

The format of this edition is a conventional one, divided into two basic parts: an introduction, followed by a commentary. Emphasis is given to Stesichoros's use of language and style with a special regard to epic influences and formulae. For the most part many of the thematic parallels, epic phrases, compounds and matters of prosody are contained in the language section; there are, however, places in the commentary section where some occasional observations have been made. Another key feature to the Introduction is the discussion of performance. The conclusion of this leads into the sections on cult and civic poetry. The introduction section ends with a discussion explaining the need for a new arrangement of the fragments. Placed between the introduction and commentary is a new, revised text. This is based on my own reading of the papyri. The apparatus includes bibliography, some brief description of the papyri and palaeographical notations. The second section is a full-length commentary. It covers all aspects of the *Geryoneis*, giving particular emphasis to metrical matters, philology and comparative literature.

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Firstly I would like to thank Richard Seaford. The completion of this project was greatly facilitated by his generous support and enthusiasm. I am equally indebted to Peter Parsons, who, like Richard, never seemed to grow tired of my questions about the *Geryoneis*. Some credit must be given to Ian Rutherford, who first suggested the project to me when he made the off-the-cuff remark that, 'someone ought to do something with these fragments'. I am not sure if what follows in this book is what Ian Rutherford had in mind. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the anonymous reader at Brill and those anonymous others who took the trouble to read and comment on some of the early drafts. I greatly benefited from their input and advice. Especial thanks go to Robert Bostock and Mrs Frances Gray for their careful readings of the final drafts and for pointing out to me some appalling errors. For the occasional Latin discussion my gratitude also goes to Exeter's Latin champion Ron Impey. For the early days I thank Ms Siobhan Branagh and Mr Peter Skeggs; also for inspiration, The Penguin-Pyjamad Muse, a.k.a. Ms Jenny Southward.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my wife Katerina Stergiopoulou for her love, support and abandonment of all her own pursuits for the stesichorean cause.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	C.H.E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figure Lekythoi*, (Paris, 1936).
ABV	J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters*, (Oxford, 1956).
ARV	J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, (Oxford, 1942).
ARV^2	J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, (2nd ed., Oxford, 1963).
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958).
LGPN	P.M. Frazer and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, (Oxford, 1987).
LGS	D. Page, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*, (Oxford, 1968).
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, (Zurich and Munich, 1981–).
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, (New York and Berlin, 1981–).
PEG	A. Bernabé, *Poetarum epicorum Graecorum testimonia et fragmenta*, (Leipzig, 1987)
PMG	D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, (Oxford, 1962).
PMGF	M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, (Oxford, 1991).
P.Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Egypt Exploration Society, (London, 1898–).
RE	*Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Alter-tumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894–1919).
RV	A. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, (Prag, 1876–1883).
TrGF	S.L. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, (Göttingen, 1977)

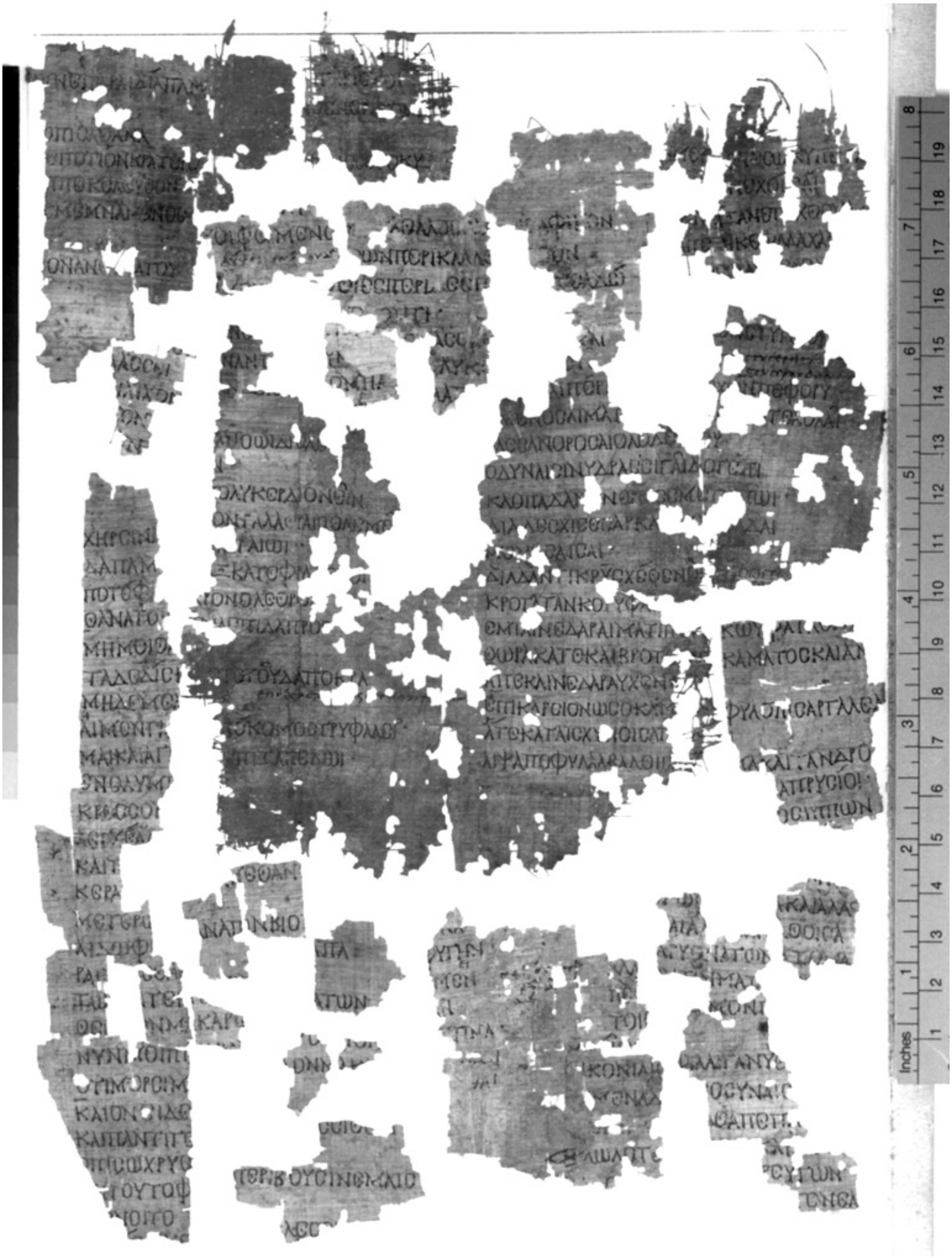

Plate One.[1]

[1] The papyri are printed with the kind permission of The Egypt Exploration Society.

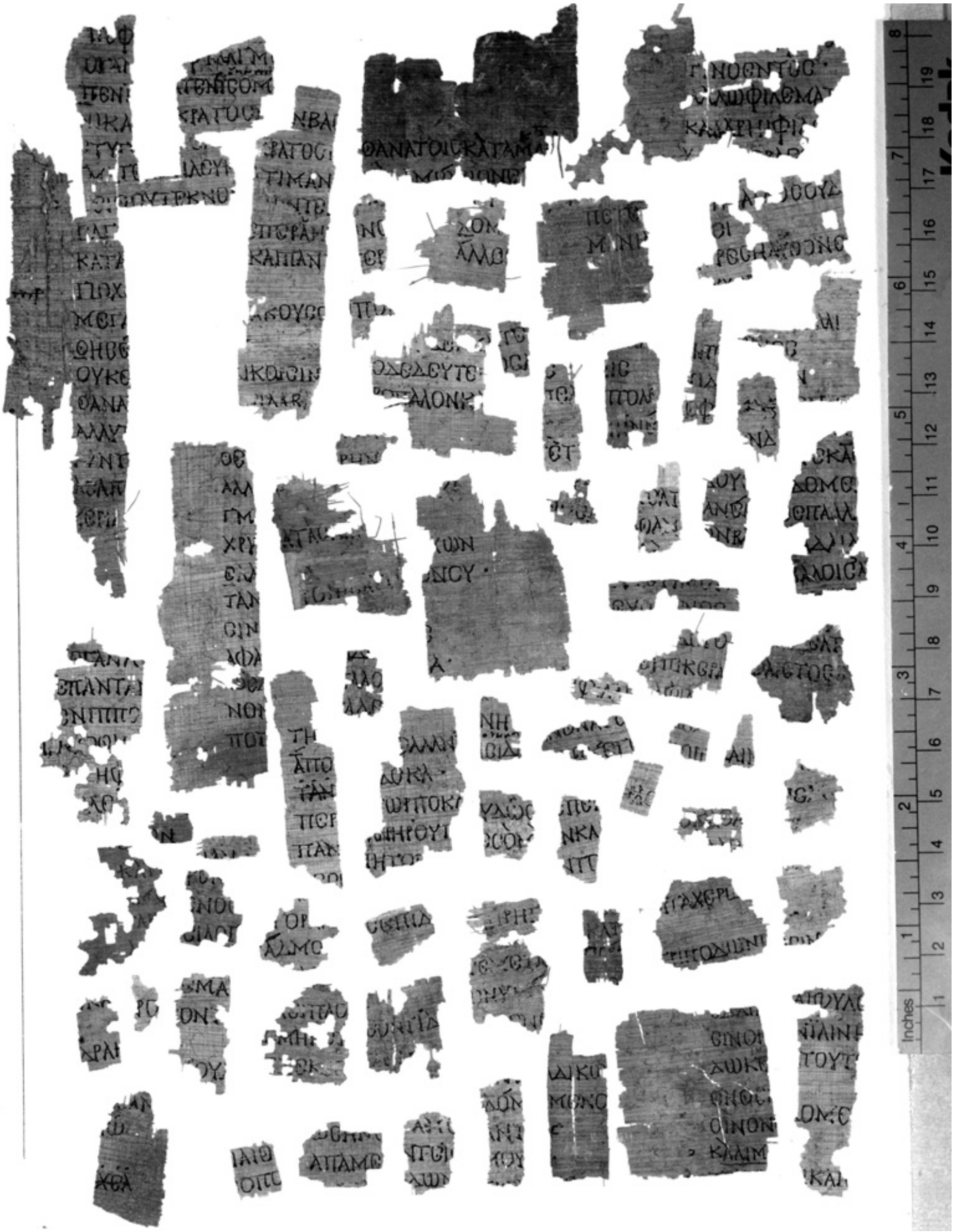

Plate Two.

INTRODUCTION

I. *A Prosopography of Stesichoros*

Biographical writing started to appear in the 5th century BCE, at least fifty years after Stesichoros's death; it was felt at this time that some kind of account should be given of Greece's heroes and poets. As well as being curious about the poets themselves, Greeks generally wanted a greater understanding of early poets and their poetry: that which could not be easily understood or explained in poems was supplemented by later prose writers. Invariably many of these explanations were based on conjecture and so gave rise to a fictitious element in biographical writing. This obviously means that caution must be exercised when reading such sources; more so when one considers the fact that many of these early accounts often formed the foundation for later biographers.

Although passages from Stesichoros's poetry are quoted as early as the 5th century (e.g. Ar. *Pax* 800), actual references to the poet himself emerge only in the 4th century. The late Classical/Hellenistic sources are on the whole more detailed than those of later centuries, which are mostly terse, sometimes referring only to titles of his poems and the fact that he was from Himera (vid. infra). As the earliest references to Stesichoros's life (e.g. T.[1] 11) begin at least two hundred years after his death none of these sources can be considered as strictly biographical; nevertheless they do help to establish some very basic facts about him. It is clear from the testimonia on Stesichoros that he was regarded highly in the ancient world: the degree to which subsequent Classical (e.g. Ar. *Pax* 775–777) and Roman period (e.g. Athen.11.499a) authors quote him is testament to this. It seems then that as early as the 5th century his songs were well known, and were circulated at one time—possibly up to the beginning of the 5th century—via performance, then preserved and later proliferated in the form of a text.[2] If a provisional

[1] T. refers to the testimonia in Appendix 1.

[2] This of course does not cancel out the possibility that a text was produced much earlier, perhaps as an aid for singers of the poem.

date for Stesichoros's active life is accepted as roughly the middle of the 6th century, there is a short gap of about forty or fifty years before later writers, e.g. Simonides (courtesy of Athenaios 4.172d–e), start to mention Stesichoros and quote his works. From these early sources there does not seem to be any great confusion about where Stesichoros was active or any indication that there was more than one Stesichoros.[3] Moreover they suggest that Stesichoros was a real person (cf. West 1999) and not just a fabricated name given to a poet representing a choral tradition.

Practically nothing is known about his life. He composed mostly mythical narrative and so very little can be inferred from his songs. First-person statements often facilitate biographical reconstructions (e.g. Hes. *Op.*37 ff., 646 ff.); sadly, such statements are absent in the surviving poetry of Stesichoros.[4] Even more dismal is the present-day ignorance that looms over 6th century Sicily: miscellaneous and fragmentary sources for Himera sketch only a vague picture of the city.

The testimonia span well over a thousand years.[5] Some, such as the 10th century Suda text, were compiled 1600 years after the death of Stesichoros, and so in terms of biographical fact and knowledge these very late sources must be read with some caution. The epitaphs and epigrams about Stesichoros are very pretty (e.g. T. 33), but of little biographical value. Some of the musical treaties in the testimonia not surprisingly refer mostly to his style and poetry (e.g. D.H. *Comp.*24).

It is conceivable that later there was more than one Stesichoros (vid. infra), and the title *Stesichoros* was some sort of stage name (cf. T. 13): as one Stesichoros dies another poet comes along and is heralded as the 'New Stesichoros'. After all, pseudonyms such as Stesichoros, like Terpander, and Plato are often merely descriptive, almost nicknames.[6] It must be stressed that the Stesichoros discussed here is the Sicilian one attested in the 6th century BCE.

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[3] Cf. T. 2, 6, 13.

[4] Cf. Lefkowitz (1981. 32): 'The one first-person statement of Stesichorus which has survived is the source of the most famous anecdote about the poet.' She then quotes a second-person passage from Plato (*Phaedr.*243a), οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν ἐϋσσέλμοις οὐδ' ἵκεο πέργαμα Τροίας.

[5] Vid. Appendix I.

[6] Although Plato is a reasonably common name, it was given to him, apparently, because of his broad physical features (his real name was Aristokles: D.L. 3.4; Sen. *Ep.*58.30; App. *Dogm. Plat.*1.1).

Family

In the Suda (T. 1) there is a list of names attributed to the poet's father: Euphorbos or Euphemos or Euclides or Euetes. Each of these claims is possible. The Suda seems to be indicating two main traditions. The first, Εὐφόρβου,[7] which is not a common name has connections with Pythagoreanism; it was believed to be a name used by Pythagoras in some palingenesis.[8] Diogenes Laertius (7.3) says that Hermes offered Heraklides of Pontus any gift he wanted except immortality; he chose to retain through life and death a memory of his experiences and when he died he entered the body of Εὔφορβος.

Εὐφήμου: not a particularly common name;[9] it appears in a list of Pythagoreans.[10] In Plato's *Phaedrus*, Stesichoros is described as the son of Euphemos (244a). This is consistent with the account given by Stephanos of Byzantium (T. 8). The name does not help much in placing Stesichoros's father geographically, as Εὔφημος is found all over Greece.[11] Notably, however, there are several records of the name found in Euboia e.g. Chalcis *I.G.*12 (9) 922, dated circa 6th century. Returning to the Suda (T. 1), the text goes on to say, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι Εὐκλείδου ἢ Εὐέτους ἢ Ἡσιόδου: the force of δὲ appears to be adversative, hence the reference to ἄλλοι. If it were a simple list of possible fathers a sequence of connectives would been given.[12] The Suda seems to be favouring Euphorbos or Euphemos: the writer(s) presumably had more sources in forming an opinion. This entry may not necessarily be indicating two separate traditions. It might be that one tradition is in question here and that there was some confusion in the transmission of facts, possibly due to corruption[13] or damage to papyri rolls. If this is the case, Euphorbos/Euphemos looks to be the strongest claim, if only by consistency and frequency of evidence.

As well as the Suda text, the 7th century grammarian Tzetzes records a claim that Stesichoros was the son of Hesiod (T. 9; T. 10). Cicero (T. 2) contests this belief, suggesting that the confusion regarding Stesichoros's

[7] The name first appears in Homer *Il.*16.808, 850, 17.59, 81. Cf. Hdt.6.101.11.

[8] Pythag. test.8.35; Thal. test.1.32, 3a.10; Emp. test.31.9.

[9] It is first seen in Homer *Il.*2.846. Cf. Hes. fr. 253.2.

[10] Sept. Sapient. *Prae.*217.15.

[11] Vid. *LGPN* 187.

[12] Cf. *Suid.* Σ 107 Σαπφώ· Σίμωνος, οἱ δὲ Εὐμήνου, οἱ δὲ Ἠεριγυίου, οἱ δὲ Ἐκρύτου, οἱ δὲ Σκαμανδρωνύμου.

[13] Euphorbos is pretty close to Euphemos. Cf. Suid. Δ 523.

lineage was of long standing. For purposes of authenticity and transmission it was a common feature in ancient biographies for poets to be related to each other. Hesiod's interaction with the Muses (*Th.*1 ff.) gives the poet a status comparable to that of a hero; it seems then almost inevitable that later biographers who revered Stesichoros, or just wanted to create an unbroken chain of poets,[14] would make some connection with him and Hesiod.[15]

Of the last two options, Εὐκλείδης (T. 12)[16] is the stronger, primarily because of its connection with Himera. According to Thukydides (6.5.1), it was the name of one of the three *oikistai* of Himera. It would be convenient if this name were particular to the area, but it is far too common. It is notable however that the name appears with some frequency on inscriptions from Euboia, in particular Chalcis, e.g. *I.G.*11[2] 10502–10503.[17] Εὐέτης[18] does not help much as it is found all over Greece: not at the same rate of recurrence as our 'Smith', but regular enough (vid. *LGPN* 174).

It comes as no surprise that practically nothing is known of the lineage of Stesichoros. Apart from Hesiod and Euetes, all the other names have, faint and remote as they are, some connection with trends and cultural developments (i.e. Pythagoreanism[19] and the foundation of Himera[20]) that took place in 6th century Sicily. By far the most consistent and plausible biographical pinpointing in the testimonia is Stesichoros's association with Himera.[21] There is only one entry that gives another place for his birth (T. 1). The writers of the Suda may have had some doubt regarding Himera as his birthplace: γοῦν[22] seems to imply that Stesichoros was thought to come from Himera, but probably in fact never

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14 Cf. the genealogy of Homer in *Vit.* Ἀγ.4.

15 Cf. *Suid.*T 354.

16 *Of good fame*: cf. Pindar's mother was called Kleodike, his wife Megakleia, both ideas associated with Pindar's work. Vid. Lefkowitz 1981. 64.

17 Vid. *LGPN* 177 et Pl. *Tht.*143c, *Phd.*59c; *I.G.*14. 1213. Cf. D.L.3.6, Richter 1965. 68.

18 Emended from Ὑέτους (not found elsewhere) by Wilamowitz 1913.

19 Vid. Finley 1968.49.

20 Vid. Dunbabin 1948.20.

21 E.g. Pl. *Phdr.*244.a.2; Ar. *Rhet.*2.20.1393b = T. 18; Athen.12.6.19; Phalar. *Ep.*54.1.10; 93.1.1; Ps. Plu. *de Mus.*1133. F.3; Aristid. *Or.*85.30; Paus.2.22.7, 8.3.2, 9.2.3, 9.11.2; Poll.9.100; Ael. *V.H.*4.26, 10.18; Clem. Al.1.16.78.5; Procl. *in R.*1.173; Σ Pi.*O.*12; Cic. *Verr.*2.2.87.

22 Here the particle is used with an inferential force which expresses some degree of doubt. Cf. Athenaios on the poet Ion of Chios (13.603e).

did. The text follows with another point of reference, 'but others (οἱ δὲ), say he is from Matauria', and again, 'but others say when exiled from Pallantion . . . '.[23] Clearly the compilers of the text are aware of more than one tradition. It is possible that Stesichoros was born in Italy and that his association with Himera was only established later in his adult life as a poet.

Little can be said of the other members of Stesichoros's family, only that he had a brother. Proklos, the 5th century CE philosopher, calls him Mamerkos, and says that he was remembered as a great geometer (T. 14). Proklos wrote about the early history of mathematics and so his claim that Mamerkos was an eminent geometer is not impossible. It is not certain exactly when geometry was first introduced from Egypt to Magna Graecia, possibly with the arrival of Pythagoras and his theorem sometime in the 6th century—roughly the time that Stesichoros and his brother were active.[24] Proklos's claim seems a long shot: yet there is some corroboration from other sources, albeit just as late, that his brother was a geometer. The Suda text (vid. supra) names him as Mamertinos, Heron (*de defin.*136.1) calls him Mamertios. References to the daughters of Stesichoros appear in the letters of Phalaris. Who and what they were is not explicit in the letters, only that they sang their father's songs and some of their own (e.g. T. 17; *Ep.*103). Russell (1988. 96) suggests that their existence was born out of 'a misunderstanding of a poem, something like Pindar's description of his own poems as 'daughters of the Muses' [he cites Pi. *N.*4.4].' Their mention may alternatively just refer to a choros of young women who sang some of his songs, i.e. *Helen*.

Chronology

Dates for Stesichoros's activity are relatively uniform, somewhere around the middle of the 6th century BCE. The Suda places Stesichoros's birth before that of Simonides.[25] Later in the Suda Stesichoros's year of birth is stated as 632/629 BCE (cf. T. 3, 4): the poet's death is given as 556, which makes his death later than Alkman's. This would have made Stesichoros around 80 years old when he died.[26] If the foundation date for Himera

[23] Cf. Bowra 1961.118. Pausanias (8.3.2) says that Stesichoros mentions Pallantium in his *Geryoneis*.

[24] Cf. T. 31, 33.

[25] *Suid.*Σ 439 (4. 361 Adler).

[26] There is, however, evidence to suggest that the date of 648 is too early. Vid. D.S. 13.62.4.

as 648 is accepted,[27] he would have been born when Himera was a relatively new settlement. It is possible that his father was one of the earliest colonists to arrive at the city, and even one of the city's founders. Cicero gives the year of his death as the 56th Olympiad (556/2. Cf. T. 5), the year Simonides was born.[28] This information may have derived from Apollodoros's *Chronika*: there was a tendency among ancient biographers to place poets into an artificially constructed line of succession.[29] Nevertheless, the Olympiad dates preserved in the Suda text (i.e. 632/28 BCE) are reasonably consistent and may, at least provisionally, be accepted as roughly correct.[30]

Lucian's entry claiming that Stesichoros lived to the age of 85 is consistent with the estimation above.[31] Cicero said Stesichoros composed verse at a very old age;[32] he also recalls seeing a statue of Stesichoros, bent with age, holding a book.[33] The statue is now lost. A state would often celebrate an individual by erecting some portrait as a token of its esteem, and perhaps the one of Stesichoros stood in some sanctuary or on a tomb marking his resting-place.[34] Two more entries have some unverifiable chronological reference. Pausanias's story (T. 23) which links Stesichoros with Lokri is more or less consistent with the above dates.[35] So too is the eclipse in one of his paeans[36] which West (1971.306) dates around 557. Judging from the above testimonia a provisional date of early/middle 6th century can be set for Stesichoros's active life.

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[27] In 648 BCE Ionian Chalcidians from Zankle along with Dorians from Syracuse founded Himera. Vid. Th.6.5.1.

[28] T. 2.

[29] Podlecki 1984.157.

[30] There are some entries that appear at odds with the above chronology. The Parian Marble (*Ep.*50) states that Stesichoros arrived in Greece in 486/5 or 485/4 BCE. The problem of reconciling the dating in the Parian Marble with the traditional dates can be solved by the possibility of another Stesichoros of Himera who achieved victory in Athens at this time. The second source, also from the Parian Marble, tells of a Stesichoros from Himera winning a first prize in a contest in Athens (370/69). Cf. T. 13. If these chronographic records are to have any credibility they surely must pertain to a later Stesichoros. Vid. Wilamowitz 1913.238.

[31] T. 7.

[32] *Fin.*7.23: cf. of Homer (?) *A.P.*2.322 ff.

[33] Cf. Paus.9.30.3, 9.12.5–6, 1.21.1–2; Athen.1.19.e.

[34] Cf. 5th century statues of Homer and Hesiod in the temenos of Olympia (Paus. 5.26.2).

[35] The actual date of the battle at Sagra is disputed, although most scholars opt for 550–540. Vid. Busolt 1967; Dunbabin 1948. 359–360; Bicknell 1966. 294–301.

[36] T. 15, 16.

Life

Details regarding Stesichoros's adult life are limited. Aristotle summarises a fable apparently used by Stesichoros to warn his fellow Himeraeans against the election of the tyrant Phalaris of Akragas (T. 18).[37] There was a tendency among many prose writers of the 4th century to fabricate stories showing something about an individual's personality. Just as rhetoricians of the period wrote encomia for individuals, some philosophers tried to idealise well-known figures such as poets. It was because of this that 4th century biography boomed; so much so that by the Hellenistic period, kings and politicians seem to dominate biographical writing. It looks as though Aristotle is praising Stesichoros.[38]

According to the Suda (T. 1) the works of Stesichoros consisted of twenty-six books. Their titles cover a wide mythological spectrum: the *Contests for Pelias* describes the funeral games held by Akastos in honour of his father; the *Geryoneis*, *Kerberos*, *Kyknos* and perhaps *Skylla* (an Italian/Sicilian tale), recount the adventures of Herakles; the *Boar-Hunters* tells of Meleager and the Kalydonian boar; the *Eriphyle* narrates the murder of Eriphyle and the death of Amphiaraos; the *Europia* tells of the rape of Europa by Zeus. Other poems are about the Trojan War and its aftermath (*Helen, Wooden Horse, Sack of Troy, Homecomings* and *Oresteia* in two books). Ancient writers described him as 'most Homeric',[39] because of his treatment of epic themes, use of dactylic metre, noble style and amplitude. As well as adapting epic material, Stesichoros apparently was fond of lighter themes, often based on local folklore: his *Kalyke* (Athen.14.619d–e) is a love story; so too is his *Rhadine* (Str.8.3.20). These tales, along with others of homoerotic love, identify Stesichoros as a kind

[37] Cf. T. 20.

[38] These presentations of Stesichoros belong more to the 4th century's prevailing interest in portraiture and the study of human character than in actual fact. Much of what was written on Stesichoros about his adult life is likely to have been inferred or just imagined from his poetry, just as claims about Sappho's love affairs and sexual tendencies were based on the erotic nature of her poetry (e.g. *Suid.* Σ 108. Cf. Paus.1.25.1 et al.). Perhaps a simpler account for Aristotle's writings is that he admired Stesichoros and wished to offer some sort of encomium: after all, it was common enough for writers of this period to present favourable biographical sketches, e.g. Plato on Sokrates, Isokrates on Euagoras etc. Neither of these writers cared much for historical fact and tended to focus more on characterizing individuals. Cf. T. 19, 21, and Plu. *Lyc.*4.

[39] T. 28.

of forerunner for Greek romance.[40] Aelian describes Stesichoros as the father of bucolic poetry, for he was the first to tell the story of Daphnis.[41]

Portraits

Physical evidence is limited. In Himera the poet's image was stamped on coins[42] and a statue erected in his honour (cf. Paus.9.12.5–6). Cicero (*Verr.*2.2.86) says that after the destruction of Himera, the survivors gathered together objects of worth and art and began to adorn the new settlement at Thermae.[43] One object was a statue of Stesichoros, for 'et est et fuit tota Graecia summo propter ingenium honore et nomine.'[44] One final piece is a large mosaic dated 2nd/3rd century CE found in a private house in Gerasa on which is preserved a portrait of Stesichoros: he is presented alongside the Muses and the Seasons.[45]

The Verdict of Antiquity

Stesichoros was greatly praised in the ancient world. Plutarch applauds his innovation (T. 25); Horace places his songs just behind Homer's (T. 26); Dionysius of Halikarnassus commends Stesichoros's austere and elegant style (T. 27); Pliny praises 'the sweetness of his mouth' (T. 24). Stesichoros was even described as a channel of the Homeric stream (T. 29). Ancient commentators admired his innovation in mythology: some believed that he was the first to say that Athena sprang armed from the head of Zeus,[46] and the first to portray Herakles in a lion-skin and bearing a club and arrow.[47] Hieronymus (*Ep.*52.3) writes that even near death Stesichoros's verse was 'swan-like and sweeter than usual'.

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40 Cf. Stephens 1994.67–87; Zeitlin 1994.159–161.

41 Aelian.*V.H* 10.18.

42 Vid. Heidenreich 1972.570–572.

43 Cf. Christodoros's description of a bronze of the poet *A.P.*2.125 ff.

44 Cf. T. 22.

45 Vid. Richter 1965.68.

46 Σ A.R.4.1310 πρῶτος Στησίχορος ἔφη σὺν ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἀναπηδῆσαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.

47 This is unlikely: vid. *LIMC* Herakles 15, et Hom. *Il.*5.392–397, *Od.*11.607, *LIMC* Herakles 32, 33 (all references to visual sources come from the *LIMC* unless stated otherwise). Cf. Athen.12.512e.

Death

Stesichoros's place of death and burial is given by Photios as Katana, a Sicilian settlement north of Syracuse.[48] This is consistent with the burial site given in the epigram by Antipater of Thessalonika.[49] Pollux places Stesichoros's place of death in Himera (T. 32).[50] The idiomatic usage which Pollux mentions refers to the eight sides of the expensive burial casket given to Stesichoros at Katana near the gates named after him. The monument erected had eight pillars, eight steps and eight corners. The design of Stesichoros's tomb may have had some significance for followers of Pythagoreanism. The innovative design of the tomb could reflect the Pythagorean interest in geometry; also the eight-sided structure could have had some mystical importance.[51] One account says that he had inherited the soul of Homer (T. 33). Fanciful and elaborate stories of death and burials are common paradigms in ancient biographies.[52] According to the Suda (T. 1), Stesichoros was killed by the robber Hikanos.[53]

II. *The Geryon Myth in the Archaic Period*

The Geryon story is the most widely attested of all the hero's labours. Despite this the myth has not survived very well. The earliest 7th century sources for the myth are few; the main source is Hesiod. Later in the 6th century, particularly on cup and vase paintings, the Geryon myth seems to unfurl more, with evidence found in mainland Greece, some as far as Sicily and Kypros. Literature at this point is very thin. Since Stesichoros was active around this time something should be said regarding the relationship between his *Geryoneis* and this comparative richness of visual sources. It has long been assumed that, because Stesichoros was one of the most successful and influential poets of the 6th

48 T. 31. Cf. T. 30.

49 T. 33.

50 Cf. Eustathius *Il.*1289.59ss.

51 Nicomachus of Gerasa ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 144 b 30ff.; Iambl. *Theolog. Arith.* p. 72, ed. De Falco, V. Cf. Nagy 1996.213.

52 E.g. the 3rd century BCE poet Alkaios of Messene (*A.P.*12) says that the Muses washed the dead body of Hesiod and shepherds sprinkled it with milk and honey.

53 Cf. the account in the Suda text (*Suid.* I 80) of Ibykos's death at the hands of bandits; in Lokris (Paus.9.31.5–6) Hesiod met a violent death, after his body was thrown into the sea. Vid. Lefkowitz 1981.ix.37.

century, he must have had some effect on contemporary artists.[54] To some degree this surely must be true: judging by the extent to which later Attic writers quote Stesichoros,[55] he was indeed greatly celebrated, and, one imagines, influential.[56] It is, however, a very bold assumption to make, as some have done,[57] that Stesichoros's *Geryoneis* initiated the vast wealth of 6th and 5th century vase and cup paintings of the myth. Robertson comments on some vase paintings from the Chalcidian tradition that show Geryon winged. He writes (1969.213): 'That this detail [Geryon with wings] was derived by the vase-painter from the poet it would be perverse to doubt; and I think it a reasonable hypothesis that the general character of the new type of representation derives likewise from Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*.' Cf. Tiberi 1977.178, Colonna 1980.313. This sort of analysis sets Stesichoros up as a kind of authority and undermines the creativity of vase-painters and other artists of the period.

Another point, often overlooked, is that the only surviving source for the *Geryoneis* is a very fragmentary text. There are two main episodes surviving in the *Geryoneis*: Geryon's death and Herakles's return of the golden cup; these two together probably represent five per cent of the whole poem. No-one can identify features in these passages as particular to Stesichoros's poem because there are no parallel texts that may render them distinctive. So although there are indeed many examples on vase paintings that present schemata which parallel fragments *Gery*. fr. 12 col. i, ii and fr. 1, they probably also reflect a common and established oral tradition to which Stesichoros belonged. Any claim that vase X and cup Y have a direct link with a papyrus fragment is an exceedingly dubious one: eliciting meaning from damaged papyri is a hazardous business in itself, but then to try to place them into a network of images is something else. Such pursuits are futile. Rather than attaching individual vase paintings to fragments in the text, it seems a much better idea to obtain an overview of the Geryon story in the Archaic and Classical period and then consider the *Geryoneis* in relation to the traditions that were prevalent around the time of the song's composition.

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[54] Vid. Schefold 1992.126, 291; Stewart 1983.62–63. For possible influences on later tragedy vid. Bremer 1987.168–172.

[55] E.g. Athen.11.499a–b.

[56] Cf. P.Oxy. 2506 fr. 26 col. ii.

[57] E.g. Barrett 2007.8–9.

The Geryon myth corresponds with the many stories of a triple-headed creature that appear all over the northern hemisphere.[58] These tales through various transitions appear to take their origin from a very primitive Indo-European source. Aegean and Near Eastern contacts probably began as early as the second millennium. Archaeological evidence points to an early establishment of contact between the two regions: for example, in Krete, which has always had a strong connection with the East,[59] frescoes in the Minoan style have recently been discovered in the Egyptian Delta, and as far as Tel Kabri, suggesting some interaction with Greece. Kommos, on the southern coast of Krete, was at this time an important commercial port for trade links with Egypt and the Near East (vid. Morris 1997.56).

Concurrent with commercial interaction was the inevitable exchange of ideas and stories. Tales of terrifying monsters were common among many nomadic cultures in the Near East.[60] Through their interaction with the West, it is possible that the triple-headed monster motif made its way into early Greek art.[61] The frequency with which these monsters and other wild animals appeared in vase and cup paintings was later reduced, giving way to the increasingly popular presence of the hero. Geryon, at least until the end of the 5th century and early 4th, was at no point superseded; this was perhaps due to the long-standing popularity of Herakles.

The primary corollary is that the Geryon myth, albeit in a very basic form, is likely to have been circulated in Greece some considerable time before the 7th century, the date for Hesiod (vid. *Th.*287–294) and the earliest visual source for the myth. It seems inevitable that by the 6th century, variations of the Geryon myth would be known to poets. Such variants from a widely diffused oral tradition were no doubt also recreated and circulated by travelling rhapsodes and non-professional storytellers alike. Artists, equally conversant with a common oral tradition, were seldom reliant on these bards. They probably drew inspiration from their fellow artists and preserved their own versions of myths, often independent of those performed by rhapsodes. Moreover, it was by no means

[58] Vid. p. 38.

[59] Cf. Minoan A with the writing systems of Egypt and the cuneiform of the Hittites and Luwians.

[60] E.g. in Luristan art. Vid. Frankfort 1954.176–177.

[61] Cf. 7th century Korinthian representations of the Gorgons. Vid. Beazley 1951.14–15.

the case that epic bards were the main medium for the transmission of oral traditions: if anything, judging by the sources for this era, artists and choral poets were probably the greater contributors to the preservation of Greece's oral traditions.

Nearly all early sources for the Geryon myth, with the exception of the Helios cup episode, centre upon the battle. Monsters and other unnatural beings as adversaries to heroes were popular subjects in Greek art from as early as the 7th century. Later in the 6th century, as the artistic repertoire advanced, scenes with heroes such as Theseus, Perseus, and Bellerophon struggling against the wild grew in frequency, often with an emphasis on graphic horror. This aspect is a feature of the Geryon myth in the 6th century.[62]

For artists of the 7th century it was a period for experimentation with monsters: for example, early compositions of Kentaurs show at least two schemata, one depicting the beasts with animal forelegs (e.g. Kentauroi et Kentaurides 43); the other showing them with human forelegs (e.g. 45). The former proved the more popular, becoming crystallised in a canonical form in subsequent centuries. Similarly, on an Attic amphora with relief decoration, dated the first half of the 7th century, is a horned human-headed Minotaur (Minotauros 33); the beast is being attacked by (Athenian?) youths and maidens who throw stones. This may be an early attempt to portray the Minotaur (cf. 35, 38), and one which was dropped in favour of the later convention of the bull-headed Minotaur. More dramatic, certainly in terms of presentation, are the scenes on some 5th century Attic vases: a handful show Herakles fighting a strange human-headed quadruped (Herakles 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837). This beast is a good example of a creation born from an artist's mind: the hybrid is a compound of a woman's head, a hairy body with udders and a dog's tail. It breathes fire at the hero as he swings his club. There is no evidence for this gruesome beast outside the four vases cited above. Comparable too are some other strange hybrids Herakles meets: three winged youths (Herakles 2838); a monster bird (Herakles 2839); snake-legged man (Herakles 2842); hare-headed winged man (Herakles 2843). These examples are for the most part isolated; they may possibly be *throw-backs* from some lost tradition, or just better examples of what are described as experimental pieces.

[62] Vid. Stesich. fr. 12; Herakles 2479.

It is commonly held (e.g. Snodgrass 1998.154–155) that the 7th century was a period of experimentalism. To some degree this is true. It might be equally true that these examples and others were just the remains of some older variant myths that eventually became, either in part or completely, superseded by more popular strains. It is possible given these circumstances, that at this juncture the serpentine type of three-headed monster of the East[63] was transformed into the well-known hoplite Geryon of Greece. One imagines that this transition was pervasive and gradual, taking place over a considerable number of years. At some point around the 8th and 7th century Greek artists had begun to develop their repertoire of heroes and started to create images that were their own and distinct from Eastern prototypes. It was a formative period for Greeks who strove to reach their own identity and initiated a process, which Burkert (1987a.14) describes as 'repelling all unassimilated 'barbarian' elements.' Brize's[64] claim that the scheme had its inception in Korinth does not give any account of Eastern influences and the possible extent to which the Geryon story was already established by the 7th century. He may be right, but it seems safer to claim that the scheme was a recognised one in Greece by the 7th century. The desire to produce figures that were separate from the older Eastern models may had something to do with the growing friction between East and West, which came to a head during the 6th century.

By the 8th and early 7th century Greeks had already imported many monsters from the East. Boardman writes (1998.84): 'Of the subject matter, animal friezes were important, including monsters which the Greeks soon accommodated and hellenised (sphinxes, sirens, griffins) by identifying them with creatures in their existing corpus of myth.' If it is accepted that the triple-headed Geryon was a figure imported from the East, it is at least feasible that around this time the monster went through some sort of transmogrification. There was probably some alteration and adaptation of the creature's physiognomy (vid. Boardman 1998.115), e.g. the loss of some wings and a tail perhaps, that, after some trial and error, resulted in the monster recognised by later Greeks as Geryon.

The earliest surviving representation of Geryon appears on an early 7th century Proto-Korinthian pyxis found in Phaleron near Athens (Geryoneus 11). The depiction is rude, almost puerile yet the painting exhibits

[63] Vid. pp. 38–39.
[64] Vid. 1988.82.

a style that is clearly oriental. On the lid is a circular frieze of various animals including lions and panthers. These stand behind a figure who appears to be Herakles. Opposite the hero is Geryon. The monster's form resembles three men joined at the waist; Geryon holds a spear and sword in his hands.[65] There is no sign of struggle and the cattle are still in his possession. Although space on the lid is limited, clearly omitted are the wings of Geryon or any of the monster's companions. The next example (Geryoneus 13) of a distanced fight comes around half a century later. Herakles is garbed in his lion-skin, whilst Geryon is dressed in full body armour. The only other example of the myth from the 7th century is found on a bronze plaque from the Heraion in Samos.[66] It is a piece of great detail: Herakles and Geryon are in the thick of battle, Herakles wearing the lion-skin over his head and shoulders has already managed to kill one of the monster's heads. In this version Herakles has a sword: this, unlike the above, indicates a close battle. The motif of Herakles wearing the lion-skin over his head is probably the result of some Near-Eastern influence (Brize 1988, 1990). The slain Eurytion and Orthos are seen in this version of the myth; Geryon is not winged. This piece is an important one for it captures the basic elements of a tradition that proved so popular later in 6th century Athens. What is noteworthy is that of all the visual sources from the Archaic period, not one gives any emphasis to the monster's size and stature.[67]

The Kypriot tradition presents Geryon alone: the remains of a terracotta statue (Geryoneus 2) from the 7th century shows Geryon dressed in battle armour standing behind three shields. Only the top half of the piece remains; nevertheless, a monster with three bodies is clearly discernible. Herakles seems to be absent in this tradition, which may point to a very early, perhaps Near-Eastern, version. It could, however, just be that Herakles did not survive on these pieces.

The earliest literary source for the myth comes from Hesiod. The entry is an important one as it sets out Geryon's lineage and the basic elements of the story. Hesiod's terse account appears to be well developed by the 7th century (*Th.*287–294):

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[65] Cf. Hippol.5.6.6; 5.8.4; Eun.10.3.6–7; Procop.Gaz. *Ecphr.*195–199; Suid. *Β* 432.1–433.1, *Γ* 254.2–6, *Κ* 2714.3–15.1; App. *Met.*3.19.5; Fronto *ad Marc.*4.3.7.2; Hor. *C.*2.14.8; Ov. *Her.*9.92. Cf. Phot. *Bibl.*328b.

[66] Herakles 2476. Vid. Brize 1985.

[67] Cf. Alkyoneus 4, 11; Kyklops 17, 22.

> Χρυσάωρ δ' ἔτεκε τρικέφαλον Γηρυονῆα|μιχθεὶς Καλλιρόῃ κούρῃ κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο.|τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἐξενάριξε βίη Ἡρακληείη|βουσί παρ' εἰλιπόδεσσι περιρρύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείῃ|ἤματι τῷ ὅτε περ βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους|Τίρυνθ' εἰς ἱερὴν διαβὰς πόρον Ὠκεανοῖο|Ὄρθον τε κτείνας καὶ βουκόλον Εὐρυτίωνα|σταθμῷ ἐν ἠερόεντι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο.
>
> But Chrysaor begot the three-headed Geryon, being joined in love with Kallirrhoe the daughter of glorious Okeanos. Mighty Herakles slew him (Geryon) by the feet-dragging oxen in sea-girt Erytheia, at that time when he drove off the wide-browed cattle to sacred Tiryns and crossed the ford of Okeanos and killed Orthos and the herdsmen Eurytion in a murky stable across from famous Okeanos.

It is noteworthy that Geryon's Erytheia has not been localised. Also, Hesiod mentions the twin-headed hound, Orthos, with no intimation that the beast is Geryon's; this indicates that their relationship was well known to the audience.[68] These factors suggest that the myth was pre-Hesiodic and properly part of some early oral tradition.[69] Hesiod's account of the monster's lineage holds consistently throughout the history of the myth and is unchallenged.[70] Hesiod (*Th.*307) describes Geryon's watchdog Orthos, born from Typhon and Echidna, as δεινός, 'terrible'. Hesiod gives no description of Herakles's raid on Erytheia, only that the hero went there to retrieve the cattle. He describes Geryon, not as a monster but as the strongest of mortal men.[71] The first literary source describing Herakles's crossing comes from the 7th century epic poet Peisandros, courtesy of Athenaios (469c).

Similar to the 7th century plaque and pyxis from Phaleron are the scenes on later 6th century shield bands all over Greece, e.g. Delphi (Herakles 2477), and Olympia (Herakles 2478). Brize supposes that these two, along with a cup from the Korinthian state of Perachora (Herakles 2498) share the same tradition as a bronze plaque from Samos, all having their origin in Korinth. He writes (1988.82): 'The next phase, the close fight, appears first on the bronze plaque from Samos (2676) already in the scheme which would become familiar in the second half of the 6th cent. in Athens: H. seizes one of Geryon's helmet crests, pulls it towards

[68] Vid. Croon 1952.13.

[69] For the circulation and development of the epic genre in preliterate Greece vid. West 1973.187 ff.

[70] Cf. Timae. *FGrH* 3B566; Paus.1.35.7; Jo. Gal. *Al.Hes.*363.9; Hyg. *pr.*41.1, 30.11, 151.2.3; Suid. Σ 2714.2–15.1; Eust.2.426. Cf. Agatharch. *FGrH* 7.8–11.

[71] Hes. *Th.*981–982.

him and drives his sword into his neck while the other head falls back mortally wounded by an arrow. The two consecutive phases of the fight [presumably distanced and close fight] are combined in a way which sets the pattern for future scenes. Since the new scheme appears in Corinthian scenes of the first half of the 6th cent. (2477, 2478, 2498) we must, in the light of our lacunose evidence, reckon with the probability that Corinth originated the scheme.' It seems dubious to suppose that the scheme had its genesis in Korinth and was something particular to that area. Certainly Korinth in the late 7th century right up to the middle of the 6th was a great commercial power and must have attracted many artists and painters from all over Greece, some perhaps bringing their own versions of the myth. After all, Korinth, not having any Mycenaean past, lacked any heroic tradition of its own and so frequently borrowed myths from other traditions, some of which had a strong Eastern influence.[72] In this melting-pot it is certainly possible that such an amalgamated scheme was born, given the fusion of artists and influence. Equally possible, and perhaps more credible, is that it was imported.

Later in the 6th century other traditions begin to emerge. The earliest Etruscan representation of Geryon is on a badly damaged 6th century pyxis (Geryoneus 7): Geryon can be discerned driving the herd with a switch. The monster takes the Attic form of three complete bodies joined at the waist; Geryon wears helmets and body armour amid the cattle. Another Etruscan piece, a 6th century bronze statuette (Geryoneus 5), shows an exiguous figure with a single armoured body. The most striking feature of this piece is the heads: the central one is proportionate to the body, but on either side sits a smaller head. This peculiar shape is not found elsewhere in Etruscan art or other traditions.

Remarkable are the three limestone statues of Geryon found at Golgo: the earliest of these (Geryoneus 3), perhaps the middle of the 6th century, shows an unusual Geryon with three legs; held before the creature are three shields with elaborate designs that seem to match the armour. The heads are now lost. The other two examples show a more familiar Geryon with three heads, three bodies and six legs (Geryoneus 2a, 4).

Two amphorae from the Chalcidian tradition (Herakles 2464, 2479) show a winged Geryon, with only two legs, clad in hoplite armour. Herakles, with the lion-skin over his head, fights the monster under the protection of Athena who stands behind the hero. On the ground lie the

[72] Cf. sacred prostitution and the cult of Aphrodite.

slain Eurytion and Orthos; behind the goddess is the herd, standing in disarray. The only other source for a winged Geryon comes from the scholiast on Hesiod's *Theogony* (287):

> ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ Γηρυονεὺς ἐκ Καλλιρρόης τῆς ᾿Ωκεανοῦ καὶ Χρυσάορος. Στησίχορος δὲ καὶ ἓξ χεῖρας ἔχειν φησὶ καὶ ἓξ πόδας καὶ ὑπόπτερον εἶναι.
>
> Geryon is the son of Kallirrhoe, daughter of Okeanos and Chrysaor. Stesichoros says [Geryon] has six hands, and six feet, and is winged.

There is some connection between this entry and the amphorae of Chalcis: in the late 8th century the Chalcidians were some of the early colonists to Sicily and by the time of the middle 6th century their influence over the island was well established. It is possible that Stesichoros was aware of this tradition and made use of it. The origin of this tradition is unknown. This winged feature of the monster, Geryon, could be some lasting trace from some Near-Eastern formula. Chalcis's interaction with the Near-East is well attested, particularly in the 8th century at Al Mina, a trading post at the mouth of the river Orontes, in Syria.[73] At this time the cultural and economic development between Chalcis and its Near-Eastern neighbours was already well established.[74] The winged Geryon could have found its way to Sicily via Euboea. This hypothesis seems more tenable than Robertson's (vid. supra).

The Attic tradition becomes pronounced in the 6th century. It emerges with a schema similar to that of Chalcis. The main difference is that the Attic strain presents Geryon with six legs; also remarkable is that the Geryon of this tradition has no wings (e.g. Herakles 2480). If Geryon underwent a process of orientalising in which the monster was given wings, it is possible that the Korinthian/Attic tradition missed it, and created its own Geryon, supporting Brize's theory (supra). This is the format for the monster in subsequent Attic pieces. In the last quarter of the 6th century there appear additional figures in the scheme. On a few vases a woman is seen standing behind Geryon, indicating some relationship with the monster; in all surviving pieces the figure is never named. On two amphorae (Herakles 2489, 2495) a calm-looking woman stands behind Geryon: opposite is Herakles behind whom is Athena. There are also examples of a distanced fight in which a similar female

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[73] Vid. Boardman 1982.758–760.
[74] Cf. Burkert 1992.12–15.

figure raises her hands in a gesture of horror or despair (e.g. Herakles 2488). Taking into consideration the nature of this gesture and the position of the woman behind Geryon, it seems likely that the woman is Kallirrhoe.

One of the best descriptions of Geryon for the archaic period is given by Aischylos in his *Children of Herakles*, (fr. 74):

> ἐκεῖθεν|ὅρμενος ὀρθόκερως βοῦς ἤλασ' ἀπ' ἐσχάτων|γαίας, ὠκεανὸν περάσας ἐν δέπᾳ χρυσηλάτῳ,|βοτῆράς τ' ἀδίκους κατέκτα δεσπότην τε τρίπτυχον|τρία δόρη πάλλοντα χερσίν·|τρία δὲ λαιαῖς σάκη προτείνων τρεῖς τ' ἐπισσείων λόφους|ἔστειχεν ἴσος Ἄρει βίαν.
>
> starting from there, having crossed the ocean in a bowl of beaten gold, he [Herakles] drove the straight-horned herd from the extremities of the earth, he slew the unjust herdsman and the threefold master, who [Geryon] wielded three spears in [the right] hands; in the left [hands] extending three shields, and shaking the crests [of his helmets], he advanced like Ares in force.

The herdsman, Eurytion, is described here as ἀδίκους which implies by association that Geryon too is in some way 'unjust'. During this period there is no consensus in the literary sources regarding the legitimacy of Herakles's actions. Pindar defends Geryon.[75] During this period the triple body of Geryon is applied in proverbial usage. In Aischylos's *Agamemnon* (867–871), Klytaimnestra says that if her husband died, as many times as rumour had reported, Agamemnon would need three graves as if he were a second Geryon.

The first vase painting of Herakles meeting Helios comes from a 6th century black Attic lekythos (Herakles 2545): Helios is riding upon the waves of Okeanos whilst Herakles sits on the shore.[76] Painted on an olpe from the late 6th century (Herakles 2550) is Herakles in a very small cup; the hero sits in the vessel with his legs dangling into the water.[77] Some of the minor figures in the myth begin to appear with some frequency during the 6th century. Eurytion mostly appears in the battle scene between Herakles and Geryon.[78] All 6th and 5th century vase paintings show Eurytion in a fallen position, either dead or wounded on the ground. Unlike his master, Eurytion is not armed. There

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[75] Pi. *fr.*81 SM; vid. Stesich. fr. 16.3 col. i.

[76] Cf. Herakles 2548.

[77] Cf. Herakles 2545, 2546.

[78] The only exception to this is a 5th century limestone relief from Golgo showing Eurytion peacefully tending the herd (Eurytion II 49).

is one example where he holds a sword (Eurytion II 12), but generally if Eurytion is holding something in his hand it is a stick, presumably used in his pastoral duties (e.g. Eurytion II 5). The normal sequence of events is that Orthos is killed before Eurytion.[79] Along with Athena, who appears ubiquitously in 6th and 5th century visual sources, Hermes occasionally makes an appearance (e.g. Herakles 2470, 2490, 2493). His presence in the labour is not obvious; perhaps he had some hand in the stealing of the cattle. On one Attic cup a woman appears with a κηρύκειον; although she has no wings, it could be Iris or some other emissary figure.

The extent to which the Geryon myth was diffused in the Archaic period is now obvious. The fact that the story was probably well-established throughout Greece and Magna Graecia, at least a hundred years before Stesichoros's version, may be enough in itself to suggest that the myth was well kneaded and already subject to much artistic innovation by the time of the *Geryoneis*. Acceptance of this as a working hypothesis dismisses any misconception that Stesichoros's version has to be directly linked with the remains of 6th and 5th century visual sources. It is indeed possible that Stesichoros's *Geryoneis* had a huge impact on poets and vase-painters in mainland Greece. There is nothing wrong with this idea, yet as things stand, evidence to support this is very thin.

III. *Historical Background*

Providing the *Geryoneis* with an historical background is greatly impeded by today's general ignorance of 6th century Sicily. The fact that evidence can muster only a very rough sketch of Stesichoros himself does not help much. There is, however, enough general information on Sicily to highlight certain factors that might be seen as having some correlation with Stesichoros and his poetry, in particular the *Geryoneis*.

Political and cultural life in Sicily during the second half of the 6th century, as with the Western Mediterranean generally (Boardman 1964.175), was dominated by power struggles between cities. With very little land on the island still available for settlement, many of these struggles were largely centred upon claims for territory and precedence in trade.[80] To the West of the island, for example, resentment was growing among the Carthaginians as the Greeks in Selinous began to thrive commercially,

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[79] Apollod.2.5.10.
[80] Cf. Dougherty 1993.61–80.

proving to be popular with the native Sicilians. To the East, tension was mounting between the Dorian cities of Gela, Akragas, Syracuse and the Ionian colonies that were trying to maintain their hegemony over the straits of Messina. Sicily grew economically due to trade and its natural resources; this eventually attracted travellers from neighbouring countries. The small makeshift settlements of the early colonists soon became cities of great opulence and influence.

It is natural to assume that when Greek colonists left the motherland they brought with them their own dialects, technology, myths and religious practices.[81] In turn indigenous divinities and their stories were embraced and hellenised by the Greeks:[82] Sicily, celebrated for its fecundity and agriculture, became renowned for its Greek chthonic gods.[83] As Greeks were relative newcomers to the island, they felt some need to establish their own tradition.[84] Yet hellenisation did not completely destroy and engulf native art and lore; 6th century architects[85] started to produce bold and synthetic forms that embraced indigenous and Greek designs which helped pronounce a new beginning for Sicilian Greeks.[86] If Geryon was believed to be a native deity by Greeks, the *Geryoneis* too might be seen as an amalgam of local and imported Greek elements, making it consistent with these artistic trends.[87]

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[81] Vid. Descœudres 1990.19ff.

[82] Vid. pp. 13–14.

[83] Hom. *h.Dem*.439; Lasos *PMG* 702; E. *HF*.609; Hades 110. Cf. Zuntz 1971.59–67. For Geryon as a chthonic deity vid. Croon 1952; cf. Radermacher 1903.42; Ciaceri 1921.71; Schoo 1936–1937.264; Coomaraswamy 1940.51; Gallini 1959.66; Bowra 1961.92; Woodhead 1962.28; Vermeule 1979.14; Brize 1980.51; Visser 1982; Davies 1988a.279. Jungian psychology identifies Herakles's journey to the west as a common paradigm in myth that symbolises the attempt by the conscious mind (the hero) to overcome the fear attached to the darkness/unknowing of the unconsciousness Self (personified by Geryon); Segal (1998.165) believes that the concerted effort by the conscious Self to place itself and triumph in a perilous position enables the hero to come away with some form of gain (Geryon's cattle?) that facilitates re-birth. Jung himself has written about Geryon (1953.446–448): in a discourse on religious ideas in alchemy he says that Geryon is, 'the human hermaphrodite in all creatures' i.e. Geryon is only made up from lower elements water and earth which are thought by him, in terms of alchemical principles, to be formed from the lower half of the world. For his and other cabalistic readings vid. Jung 1963.455–456, 1959.210–211: cf. 1958.176–177; also Caldwell 1989.152–155. For allegorical readings vid. Brumble 1998.159.

[84] Cf. Di Vita 1996.290, Mertens 1996.319, Finley 1968.29.

[85] Cf. Mertens 1990.377.

[86] Vid. Martin 1971.180–188, Langlotz 1965. 23–27, Mertens 1996.382–383, Rizza 1996.412.

[87] For a discussion on mutual syncretism between Greeks and non-Greeks in 6th century Sicily vid. Malkin 1994.216–221.

Stesichoros showed a keen interest in Herakles.[88] Sicilian Greeks during the 7th and 6th century lived on the periphery of the civilised world. The arrival of Greeks, not only in Sicily, but in the West as a whole, presented the need for colonists to give some account that would in some way facilitate and justify their claims to the newly found land.[89] An epic re-telling of Herakles's actions in the West would surely meet the needs of Greeks. It is possible that Stesichoros was commissioned to do this.[90]

Only a brief outline of the on-going conflict between Greeks and barbarians is known. It probably lasted the course of the century, as so many attempts were made by the Greeks to obtain hegemony in Sicily. There were two notable Greek assaults on Sicily that could have some correlation with the poem. The first is Dorieus's attack (510), which was made probably after Stesichoros's death.[91] The dates for both the battle and the poet's life are uncertain, so perhaps some link between the two is still possible. The other option, which is more likely, was the attempt by Pentathlos (580). Either campaign can be viewed as being analogous to Herakles's raid. When the hero travels to Erytheia to steal the cattle he glorifies the Greek enterprise abroad and so paves the way for the pioneers of Greek civilisation. All these provisions were central to the ideology of Dorieus's campaign. Even if the connection with Dorieus's assault is dubious, the poem might reflect the fighting as a whole on the island.

The popularity of the battle scene was at its height in the 6th century, with vase and cup paintings from all over Greece illustrating the dispute. This aspect of the story is perhaps an autonomous one connected with the Greek propaganda in the West at the time. The early proliferation

[88] Apart from the *Geryoneis* there are three other myths with which Herakles is associated that may have been told by Stesichoros: alas nothing remains of his poem *Skylla*, only a passing reference by the scholiast on Apollonios (Σ A.R.4.825–831). Also lost is Stesichoros's *Kyknos* (Σ A Pi. *O*.10.19). Pollux mentions Stesichoros's *Kerberos* in his rhetorical handbook (10. 152), but only the title remains. The names of these poems are the ones given by later Alexandrian editors. Vid. Arrighetti 1980.22, Kingsley 1995.274–277, D'Agostino 1996.209–210, Malkin 1998.20–22.

[89] Cf. D.S.4.23.1–3; Hdt.7.170 et D.S.4.21.5–7; 4.29–30; 5.2.7; 5.7.5–7; 5.8.1; 5.15.1. Vid. Pearson 1987.53–90; Dougherty 1993.61–80.

[90] Pindar received commissions for cult paeans by local *poleis* or sanctuaries. Vid. Rutherford 2001.167. Also Gentili 1988.126–127, 160–161; cf. Paus.1.2.3 et Fränkel 1975.283. Cf. Vassallo 1996.208–209.

[91] On Dorieus vid. Hornblower 2004.107–113.

of vase paintings was generated as part of some generic celebration that marked Greece's domination in the West. Herakles's triumph was an historical motif that acted as a mythological paradigm for all subsequent endeavours by Greeks. As a symbolic image, Herakles's victory in Sicily was comparable to the many mythological scenes depicting the Amazonomachy.[92] This mode of symbolism was very popular on vases and reliefs from the 6th century and early 5th, and helped Greeks promote the barbarian propaganda of the East. For example, Theseus's confrontation with Medea was a mythological prefiguration of Athens's victory over the Persians; this is the geographical antithesis for Herakles's victory over the barbarian elements in the West. The Attic propaganda was something generic and not just particular to Theseus and Medea: so cups and vases (e.g. *ARV*² 406.7) showing the scene of Theseus's altercation with Medea do not necessarily represent any theatrical performance.[93] It is not hard to imagine something similar taking place with the Geryon myth: given the importance and expediency of such an ideology for colonists in the West, Herakles's victory over Geryon must have been a powerful symbol, something that was perhaps established very early with the Greek occupation of Sicily and which predates the *Geryoneis*.

In some ways the frightening outer aspect of Geryon personified the fear experienced by Greeks coming to Sicily. Exposure to an unfamiliar culture and its gods coupled with isolation from the motherland, must have created many demons in the minds of the Greek settlers. For mortals, such a journey into unknown territory was on a par with that of some hero going down to the underworld. It is perhaps then no surprise that the Geryon of the 6th century resembles a chthonic deity (cf. Orthos with Kerberos). The process of replacing the unfamiliar with the familiar, and establishment of the parent culture over a perceived deep-rooted chaos, could only be achieved by Greece's greatest hero. Herakles's triumph over Geryon symbolises the arrival of the new order and the dismissal of fear and unfamiliarity which the monster embodied. Of course throughout history the Greeks were not the only ones to experience this: the Indo-European peoples in their wanderings must have felt similar fears all over Europe and Asia. This may help to explain the widespread diffusion of the triple-headed monster myth in the northern hemisphere.[94]

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92 Vid. Tiberi 1977.175–179.

93 Vid. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990.

94 Vid. pp. 38–39.

IV. *Performance*

The mode of the poem's performance is unknown. Unlike the remains of Alkman's poetry that give a clear indication of a choral performance,[95] there is no explicit sign in the *Geryoneis*, or indeed in any of the poems of Stesichoros, that can form indisputable proof of performance. This lack of evidence is a fundamental problem and an impasse in Stesichorean research.[96]

The question of performance would be considerably easier to answer if genre(s) in Stesichoros's poetry were identified. The categorisation of lyric poetry by the ancients generally involved recognizing shared features and functions within a song that could render it distinct from other genres. Thus, a poem starting and ending with references to a victory, with some mythical and gnomic element in between, might be regarded as having all the features that constitute an epinikion. Yet because Stesichoros's poetry is so poorly preserved and disjointed, any ascription of the fragments to a lyric genre has to be tentative. One consistency in the Stesichorean *corpus* is subject matter: most of Stesichoros's poetry is centred upon myths from epic and local legends. There are at least four poems dedicated to the actions of Herakles;[97] one to Argive *Helen* (Athen.3.81d), the *Achaeans* (S. 99), *Oresteia* (210–219); at least one Palinode (Pl. *Phaedr.*243a); myths from the Theban cycle, his *Eriphyle* (S.E. *M.*1.261) and *Europia* (Σ. E.*Ph.*670), *Thebaid* (222A); from Troy (Harp. i.165s), *Nostoi* (Paus.10.26.1); the Kalydonian *Boar-Hunters* (Athen.3.95d). The predominance of mythical material and epic-style narrative in these songs suggests some affinity with cult worship of heroes and gods. The songs of Stesichoros look to be some kind of hymn dedicated to a god/hero, and may be described as 'Epic Hymns', i.e. choral odes, containing lengthy mythical narrative, that were performed at a festival. Even from the meagre remains of the Stesichorean *corpus*, it seems clear that his songs do not fall into any category set out in ancient—and indeed modern[98]—classification, and so their distinctions do not help much here.

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95 E.g. *PMG* 36 ὡς ἁμὲς τὸ καλὸν μελίσκον.
96 Cf. Carey on Pindar 2007.199.
97 Vid. p. x.
98 Vid. Davies 1988.63–64.

The papyrus itself, i.e. its language and metre, suggests *prima facie* a choral song. The stanza structure of the *Geryoneis* is triadic, viz., strophe, antistrophe and epode: this format is prevalent in choral lyric and characterises many choral odes in later Attic tragedy. The metrical periods are lengthy and the responsion elaborate. This structure is distinct from the short, simple di/stichic monostrophe of monodists, such as, Sappho and Anakreon. The language is artificial, non-vernacular and contains many epic formulae: to accommodate the epic narrative Stesichoros employs a dactylic metre. There is plenty of evidence of this metre in early choral lyric, e.g. Alkman's *Partheneion*; Simonides, preserved Diogenes Laertius (fr. 581 = 1.89s). The popularity of this metre was maintained in the 5th century, frequently appearing in Pindar,[99] and continuing into the 5th century both in lyric (e.g. Bakch.5.1) and tragedy (e.g. A.*Pr*.887–907). Based on this evidence many still believe the *Geryoneis* to be a choral song.[100] By others, however, a solo performance has been argued.[101] For purposes of clarity it is useful to outline the main arguments against a choral performance.

Arguments for a solo performance are based primarily on five points: 1. Testimonia that link Stesichoros with solo performers, chiefly Homer. 2. The stichometric letter of fr. 21 col. ii.6. 3. The length of other poems by Stesichoros, e.g. his *Oresteia*, that is perceived to be too long for a chorus to perform. 4. Musical principles. 5. The reconstruction of the poem by Page.[102]

1. Lefkowitz believes that Stesichoros performed monody because (1988.2) 'ancient scholars characterise Stesichorus as [*sic*] soloist in the Homeric tradition.' She does not really explain this statement, but the idea seems to be that because Stesichoros was often associated with

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[99] Of his epinikia: *O*.3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13; *P*.1, 3, 4, 9, 12; *N*.1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11; *I*.1, 2, 3/4, 5, 6.

[100] For choral: Bowra 1936, Webster 1968, Calame 1977, Mullen 1982, Burkert 1987, Burnett 1988, Carey 1989, Nagy 1990, D'Alfonso 1994, Dihle 1994, Willi 2008.

[101] For monody: West 1971, Pavese 1972, Haslam 1974, Lloyd-Jones 1980, Rossi 1983, Herington 1985, Segal 1985, Fowler 1987, Davies 1988, Lefkowitz 1988, Schade 2003, Barrett 2007, Lazzeri 2008. On the fence: Nagy gives some credence to both a monodic and choral performance, but concludes a far too brief discussion with the statement (1990.372): 'It is safer to say, then, that the corpus of Stesichorus represents the medium of choral performance, though we may make allowances for the evolution of a derivative medium that entails the monodic mimesis of choral performance.'

[102] It should be noted that many of the ideas expressed by Page in his article (1973) were in fact inspired by the comments of Barrett.

Homer there must be some similarity in performance of their poetry. This is more or less what Davies thinks (1988.53): 'The perpetual association of him [Stesichoros] with Homer in antiquity points in the direction of monody.' Lefkowitz (1988.2.n. 8) illustrates her point with some references to some testimonia and other ancient sources.[103] The main problem with Lefkowitz's and Davies's argument is that they do not state exactly what the association is; also how and why the connection between the two poets is brought about in each testimonium in the first place. Just because the two poets are drawn together in some sort of comparison or alliance does not necessarily mean that this nexus relates to performance. The most obvious connection is a thematic one: both Homer and Stesichoros sing the praises of heroes, and draw inspiration from a long oral tradition. It seems apparent even from the meagre *corpus* of Stesichoros's work, that the poet drew great inspiration from epic poetry, including Homer.[104] At times Stesichoros even seems to be adapting lines from Homer.[105] This appears to be the obvious nexus between the two poets. Indeed, a closer examination of the five sources Lefkowitz cites, shows that some actually reinforce this last statement.[106] Moreover, all of the

[103] Vid. Appendix II.

[104] Vid. Carmignani 1982.172–179. Cf. López Eire 1975.1–32.

[105] Vid. pp. 48–49.

[106] For example, she cites a passage in Quintilian (T. 34): he is discussing oratory and is concerned with the treatment of subject matter in poetry, and says that Stesichoros's greatness was derived from his treatment of themes, such as war and the actions of leaders in battle, and so is a rival for Homer, who, like Stesichoros, sang of heroes on the battlefield. This is the reason behind the reference to Homer: not because, like Homer, Stesichoros was a soloist. Cf. Gostoli 1998.152: 'Come afferma Quintiliano, Stesicoro 'sostiene sulla cetra il peso del canto epico', il che significa che ripropone l'ampio materiale epico accompagnandosi con il suo strumento, la cetra, non che lo affida all'esecuzione di un coro.' In a passage from Dio Chrysostom (2.33), not quoted by Lefkowitz (!), Stesichoros is seen as the imitator of epic *material*, and not performance. Lefkowitz also refers to an epitaph by Antipater of Thessalonika (*A.P.*7.75), which says, allegedly in the words of Pythagoras, that in the breast of Stesichoros the soul of Homer was given a second home. Does this really make Stesichoros a monodist? She gives reference to Dio Chrysostom (55.6). Here in the narrative, imitating art is being discussed; it is not clear in what way Stesichoros was a 'follower' of Homer, probably because of Stesichoros's metre and adaptation of Homeric themes; the whole discourse is concerned not with modes of performance, but with the function of the poet/philosopher and the relationship between teacher and pupil. It is hard to imagine why, from this extract and the others cited, Lefkowitz thinks that this passage indicates that Stesichoros was a soloist. She also gives reference to Pausanias (9.11.2), who is writing about an inscription he saw in Boeotia and a tomb, which holds the children of Herakles; the account of their deaths was similar to that given by Stesichoros. The passage does say that Panyassis and Stesichoros wrote ἔπη;

references to Homer in these passages do not even refer to performance,[107] let alone imply any similarity in this respect.

Also centred on testimonia and ancient commentaries are the ideas of West.[108] Particular reference is made to Ps. Plutarch's *De Musica*. At 1132b–c the author of this text discusses composition and the origins and influences of the kitharode. He states that Terpander composed nomes and sang them to the kithara, and, as well as performing the verse of Homer, composed his own material in hexameters.[109] For West (1971.309) some connection can be made with the ἀρχαῖοι μελοποιοί and Stesichoros. He does not think that Stesichoros is a choral poet, but accepts that any nexus made in Ps. Plutarch's *De Musica* with Stesichoros does not necessarily prove him to be a monodist. He writes (1971.309): 'But one reason for bringing in Stesichorus in discussing citharodes might be that he was thought to be, not indeed a 'citharode' (for a citharode sang other people's verse, even in Terpander's time), but something analogous, a singing poet.'[110] Because the passage is concerned with composition and the influences of epic poetry on the auletic tradition it is not obvious why West reaches this conclusion. There is nothing in the *De Musica* to indicate any mode of performance, it merely states that Stesichoros, like the ancient lyric poets, did not composed in free rhythms and unmetrical verse. A connection can be made with the compositions of Terpander[111] who, like Stesichoros, was influenced by epic poetry, but this clearly does not make Stesichoros a monodist.

Next West (1971.310) refers to a claim in the *De Musica* that the 5th century BCE Glaukos once heard the performance of one of Stesichoros's poems, believing it to be an ἁρμάτειος νόμος. The composition was, apparently, an attempt by Stesichoros to use the nome and dactylic rhythm in order to imitate the piper Olympos. West cites two other examples of the ἁρμάτειος νόμος (Plu. *Alex.*335a; E. *Or.*1369 ff.). The scholiast on the second of these passages says that the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς is identical

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the parallel *is* Panyassis and Stesichoros both wrote epic verse (about Herakles?), which invites no comparison between the performance of Homeric poetry and Stesichorean verse. Cf. Heraclid.Pont.*FGrH* 2f.157; also Gentili 1988.125.

107 Cf. Lazzeri (2008.392) l'esistenza infine di una tradizione che attesta la discendenza di Stesicoro da Esiodo indicherà certamente un legame da ricercarsi nelle composizioni dei due poeti. Vid. Arrighetti 1982.105–111.

108 1971. Cf. Herington 1985.19–20.

109 T 35.

110 Cf. Pavese 1972.243, Gostoli 1998.145–152.

111 D'Alfonso 1989.143.

to the ἁρμάτειος νόμος. Because the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς is associated with Olympos, there is no need, West believes, to connect Stesichoros with the auletic tradition as the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς is identified with both the aulos and the kithara.

For West the affinity between these nomes is significant (311): 'It [νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς] was not necessarily identical with the auletic, but it may have been similar enough for Glaucus, wishing to prove a point, to identify it with Olympus' ἁρμάτειος and draw a novel inference about Stesichorus' affinities. If he had had reason to think that the poems were aulodies, he would surely have appealed directly to this fact in order to argue the connection with Olympus, instead of to the particularity of the nome … and the view which he contradicts (that Stesichorus was a follower of Orpheus, Terpander, and Archilochus) would never have been current.' The logic behind West's argument is strained: he seems to think that if Glaukos thought Stesichoros's poetry was aulody he could easily have said that Stesichoros, like Olympos, used the chariot nome in the auletic tradition; but because Glaukos states that Stesichoros did *not* imitate Orpheus et al. as (West thinks) would have been expected, Stesichoros must have been a kitharode like Orpheus; otherwise there would have been no point in mentioning the list of lyre players. The passage is concerned with the chariot nome and ancient poets, and not with performance or auletic/kitharodic traditions. Glaukos could be categorising Stesichoros with Orpheus et al. for other reasons, such as subject matter, or rhythm, not because he was a kitharode. Cf. Lloyd-Jones 1980.22.

2. The second point refers to one of the smaller fragments of P.Oxy. 2617, a piece (fr. 21 col. ii.6) bearing the stichometric letter *N̄*, '1300'. West et al.[112] have read this as pertaining to the length of the poem, drawing the conclusion that the *Geryoneis* was a song of some considerable length—too long for any choros to perform. Some, such as Segal, believe that it was over 1,500 lines long. He writes (1985.187): 'The *Geryoneis* … appears to have contained at least 1,500 lines, which would make it three and a half times as long as Pindar's fourth *Pythian*, our longest extant choral ode. This work, on a rough estimate, would require some four hours to perform, longer than a choros could reasonably dance.' Cf. Pavese 1972.243–244. However, the performance of 1,500 lines is not beyond

[112] E.g. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1990.13, Cingano 1993.347–348.

the powers of endurance of a troop of dancers; as Burnett (1988.132–133) remarks, an Attic choros could dance—albeit with breaks between odes—up to 2,000 lines in a day.[113] The choros would of course have to memorise the song before they could perform it: great feats of memory can be achieved when lines are put into verse,[114] and so endurance of body and mind need not stand in the way of a lengthy performance. The other possibility is that the stichometric letter belongs to to number of lines on the roll. This could quite easily be the case as there appears to be no uniformity with stichometric letters on lyric papyri.[115] One final possibility is that the letter refers to another poem. There is some evidence to support the claim that the fragments of P.Oxy. 2617 are the remains of more than one song.[116] This does not really help anyone, but the likelihood of there being two or even three songs in P.Oxy. 2617 should be given some credence.

3. The Suda says that (Σ 1095 = T 1) καί ἐστιν αὐτοῦ [Stesichoros's] τὰ ποιήματα Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ἐν βιβλίοις κϝ΄/. βιβλίον is a diminutive form of βίβλος.[117] The context here appears to be indicating an individual work, i.e. his *Helen, Europia* etc., and not some collection of songs centred on a particular or common theme.[118] Often, whenever a scholiast gives reference to one of his works, it is to individual songs, e.g. Σ A.R.4.825–831.[119] There is one slight exception to this: when his

[113] Cf. Pavese 1972.243.

[114] In the high Middle Ages putting books, not necessarily poetry, into verse was a common way of memorizing lengthy works. For example the composer Leonon put the first eight books of the Old Testament into dactylic hexameters so they may be learned and recalled to mind at will (vid. Berger 1996.276).

[115] For example, in a fragment of Homer's *Iliad* (University of California 2390) the letter 'β' (A = 100 lines, B = 200 etc.) is written in the margin in between lines 200 and 201, thus referring to the verse line; however, visible in a fragment of Euripides's *Hypsipyle* (Bodl Ms.Gr.Class.b.13(P)) is the stichometric letter 'Π' (1600 lines), which seems a bit long for a reference to a verse line in Attic tragedy and so is probably referring to the role number: Turner (1987.66) has misgivings as to whether the stichometric 'A' in Sophokles's *Ichneutae* refers to the line of the play. Cf. Rutherford 2001.140–143.

[116] E.g. fr. 17.2.

[117] So 'scroll', or 'book' as the division of a work, as in for example ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Α.

[118] Stesichoros composed many types of song, and so the Alexandrian scholars could have divided Stesichoros's songs into books according to their εἴδη; e.g. five books of hymns (*Geryoneis* etc.), three books of paeans (cf. Athen.6.250b = Timaeus F 32 Jacoby), one book of 'boy-songs' (cf. Athen.13.601a), and so on. However there is nothing to support such classification. Cf. the division of Pindar's songs by Aristophanes (vid. Pfeiffer 1968.183–184).

[119] Vid. Harvey 1955.158. Cf. Barrett 2007.1–2.

Oresteia is cited it is referred to as either the Ὀρεστεία (Σ Ar. *Pax* 797) or Ὀρεστεία β´//δεύτερον [βιβλίον] Ὀρεστείας (P.Oxy. 1087 ii.47s, Σ Vat. In Dion. Thrac. *Art.*6). Despite the fact that very little is known of this composition(s), some have read this as a clear indication that Stesichoros's songs were of a considerable length.[120] Whether his version of the story spanned the length of two books to make one complete song, or it was composed into two or three separate units, like a trilogy, is indeterminable. Cf. Carey 1989.564. Even if his *Oresteia* were 2,000 or even 3,000 lines long from beginning to end, this does not mean that it was necessarily sung by a soloist. And even if it were, this does not surely mean that the *Geryoneis* was of a similar length. Such reasoning would imply that *all* of Stesichoros's songs were of a similar length.[121]

The sober reality is that nobody really knows how long these poems were; it is known that Stesichoros, like many lyric poets of this time, composed different types of verse for various occasions.[122] This can be inferred legitimately from later sources:[123] what has not hitherto been

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[120] E.g. Barrett 2007.11. Some parts of his *Oresteia* are known, for example (Philodem. *Piet.*) Stesichoros, like Hesiod, identified Iphigenia with the goddess Hekate, also the famous recognition scene with the lock of hair in Aischylos's *Oresteia*, was also used by Stesichoros. Vid. Bowra 1934.116–119; Whallon 1965.318–319; Bornmann 1978a.147–148.

[121] Cf. Schade (2003.5), 'Daß die *Orestie* zwei Bücher umfaßte, war bereits aus den Buchzitaten bekannt (cf. e.g. 213 *PMGF*); jetzt liefert ein Fragment aus der Geryoneis (P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 7) die kolometrische Angabe '1300' d.h. dieses Werk war mindestens viermal so lang wie das längste Epinikion Pindars (*Pythien* iv). Beträchtlicher Umfang kann mithin auch für weitere stesichoreische Werke nicht ausgeschlossen werden.'

[122] Segal (1989.146), entertains the idea that Stesichoros started off his career as a composer of choral poetry but later turned to kitharodic narrative. This belief is spurious: the assumption is that Stesichoros was incapable of composing and/or performing more than one type of song at any one time in his professional life as a poet. Worse still is Robbins's paralogism (1981.1): 'but there is no evidence in the remains for such a development [from choral to kitharodic narrative] and it is thus a very dubious hypothesis to posit that he [Stesichoros] composed different sorts of poetry at different stages in his career.' Firstly, of course there is no evidence for such a *development* (this term connotes that choral poetry is in some way inferior (unpolished) to that of kitharodic poetry), because the entire idea is perverse. Secondly, there *is* evidence, both in the fragments of Stesichoros's works and the ancient commentaries on the poet, that he did indeed compose different types of compositions for various occasions (Ael. *V.H.*10.18; Athen.14.619de, 13.601a; Pl. *Phdr.*243a). Thirdly, why is it 'highly dubious' for Stesichoros to compose 'different sorts of poetry at different stages in his career'? Composing poetry is not a linear process: Bakchylides and Simonides wrote in various genres; their shift from, for example, paean to victory ode, was not determined by any development in their skills as poets, but rather out of occasion or behest. Cf. Comotti 1989.21.

[123] E.g. Athen.6.250b, 13.601a.

elicited from these late sources, and this applies to much of the argumentation in all of the above three sections, is evidence for any song's length and mode of performance. Indeed, much can be learnt from ancient commentaries and musical treatises on early Greek poets: after all, many of these writers have the considerable advantage of more than two thousand years over today's commentators. It should be remembered, however, that even the earliest testimonia were still written hundreds of years after the last performance of songs such as the *Geryoneis* and the *Oresteia*. It is possible that their ignorance regarding performance was not on a par with today's commentators. Yet, sadly, any insight they might once have possessed does not seem to have been recorded. Thus there is no compelling evidence either for or against a choral performance in the testimonia.[124]

4. West (1971.312–313) believes that the triadic structure of the *Geryoneis* is no evidence for a choral performance as it exemplifies a purely musical principle[125] of composition, i.e. that the basic architectural formula of AAB was a traditional pattern in Greek melodic structure.[126]

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[124] Mention should also be made of probably the best known entry in the testimonia from the 10th century CE Suda text. It reads (*Suid.* S. 1095 = T. 1), ἐκλήθη δὲ Στησίχορος ὅτι πρῶτος κιθαρῳδίᾳ χορὸν ἔστησεν· ἐπεί τοι πρότερον Τισίας ἐκαλεῖτο. Although the Suda is a very late source there seems no reason to totally dismiss the entry; after all it was a common enough occurrence for eminent poets to adopt a descriptive name. Cf. Terpander 'delighter of men'. Lefkowitz felt no need to doubt it, suggesting that Stesichoros's name was a descriptive one (1981.31), 'because he first set up choruses of singing to the lyre.' Yet, her once held belief has changed: since the discovery of the *Geryoneis* fragments (The reasoning behind her change of mind is not explicit: she seems to allude to Page's mathematical reconstruction of the *Geryoneis* (vid. infra) and the stichometric letter which for her indicates that the poem is too long for a choral performance.) she thinks that his name, like Stesilaus, Stesandrus and Stesimbrotus, is just a non-descriptive proper name. This is unlikely: a child who was given the name Stesichoros presumably within ten days of birth just happened to become one of Greece's greater poets. Cf. Martinez 1974.335, also Pavese's crass statement (1972.245), 'Il nome 'd'arte' Stesicoro è interessante. Esso non indica necessariamente la professione di istruttore di cori, come il termine χοροστάτις in Alcmane.'

[125] A similar explanation is given by Crusius in his analysis of Alkman's *Partheneion* (1888.8). Cf. Perosa 1934.136–137. For choral poetry and music vid. Naerebout 1997.196–206.

[126] This is true of not only *some* Greek poetry, but also of *some* early forms of Near Eastern verse, for example the epithalamium by the 6th century BCE Palestinian poet Eleazar Ben Kallir. Vid. D.H. *Comp.*19, Heph.*Poëm.*1.2, Diomed. *grammar.* (i 521s. Keil), Mar. Vict. *ars gramm.* (vi 143 Keil), Trich. *de nov. metr.*6. The 3/4 line stanza of Lesbian poetry may be the result of some near-Eastern influence (cf. West 1997.526: for Epic contacts in Sappho vid. Nagy 1974.118–139); parallels for Lesbian themes and structure may be found in many examples of post-biblical Semitic verse.

West illustrates this principle with references to the choral Alkman[127] and to Sapphic and Alkaic stanzas.[128] He continues to claim that Stesichoros, Pindar and Bakchylides also share this AAB structure with Sappho and Alkaios. On the surface this argument looks quite convincing. However, what do distinguish Stesichoros et al. from Lesbian poets are the stanza lengths in choral poetry and the corresponding precision of internal responsion in the anti/strophe and epode.[129] Also, the fact that there is evidence showing triads similar to those of Stesichoros being performed by a choros in 7th/6th century lyric, e.g. Alkman and Attic tragedy[130] suggests that Stesichoros's poetry was choral.[131]

5. There is one final point, this time not based on testimonia, often used by those arguing a solo performance.[132] It has been dealt with here at some length because Page's article from 1973 still proves to be influential and apodictic for today's scholars.[133] Using an analysis of the metre and mathematics, he tried to reconstruct the order of the surviving fragments of the poem by predicting the metrical schema. Page visualised the poem as being written in a series of stanzas running in columns, with each one consisting of thirty lines. His hypothesis of a thirty-line column is based

[127] P.Louvr. E.3320.

[128] Nearly all of Sappho's and Alkaios's poems were composed in strophes of two, three, or four verses (vid. Page 1955.318–326).

[129] Dale (1951.123): 'Triadic composition, of course, implies a chorus, and the full periodic style of composition, whether triadic or monostrophic, was almost always choral . . . .' Cf. Segal claims that the fragments themselves are enough to secure Stesichoros as a monodist. His analysis is based on metre and language (1985.187): 'The freedom and flexibility of metre suggest that Stesichorus sang such poems [*Geryoneis* et al.] to his own lyre, without choral accompaniment.' What Segal describes as 'freedom and flexibility of metre' is not defined or transparent in his article. There is a certain degree of freedom and flexibility in Stesichoros's language, e.g. interchanging of long and short vowels etc., a practice that facilitates composition, not performance. It is hard to understand the logic of Segal's reading, for if anything the fragments suggest a choral poem. To substantiate his argument Segal gives reference to Haslam (1974.33). This surely must be a mis-reference: nothing is stated in Haslam's article that can be remotely construed as supporting Segal's proposal. Cf. also Lefkowitz 1988.3.

[130] Vid. supra.

[131] Relatively uniform accounts from late authors tell how archaic poets composed their works in triads to orchestrate the choros in public worship: the 4th century C.E writer Marius Victorinus (I.16.9) says that hymns in the triadic structure were sung to the god and performed around an altar where the choros would chant going around an altar. Cf. Σ Pi. p. 11; Boisson. Anecd. 4 p. 458e; Σ. B. Heph. p. 186 Gaisf.; Σ. Ar. *Nu*.563; *E.M.*690.

[132] Vid. West 1971.302.

[133] Davies 1979 et al.

on the larger fragments of the poem, i.e. fr. 12, and follows the triadic format of 9 + 9+8 in the poem.[134] Illustrated thus:

col. i.

Break in papyrus → – – – – – – – – – – –

Strophe (last 8 lines):
⏔⁝–⏑⏑–|⏔:–:⏑⏑–
⏑⏑–:⏑⏑–]⏑⏑[––‖
⏔⁝–:⏑⏑–:]⏔–[⏑⏑–
⏑⏑––‖]
⏔⁝–⏔–:]⏑⏑–:⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑]–|
⏑⏑–⏑:⏑–]⏔–⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑:]–:⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⦀

Antistrophe:
⏔⁝–⏑⏑–⏑]⏑––‖
⏔⁝–⏑⏑]–|⏔:–:⏑⏑–
⏑⏑–:⏑⏑–]⏑⏑––‖
⏔⁝–:⏑⏑–:⏑]⏑–⏑⏑–
⏑⏑––‖]
⏔⁝–⏔–:]⏑⏑–:⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑–|]
⏑⏑–⏑:⏑–]⏔–⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑:–:⏑]⏑–⏑⏑–⦀

Bottom of column.

col. ii.
Missing is the concluding epode of col. i. (8 lines) and the first 5 lines of col. ii.'s strophe + the surviving 17 lines of col. ii. = 30.

– – – – – – – – – – –

Strophe:
⏔⁝–⏔–:⏑⏑]–:⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑]–|
⏑[⏑]–⏑:⏑[–⏑]⏑–⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑[⏑:–:⏑⏑–]⏑⏑–⦀

Antistrophe:
⏔⁝–⏔–⏑⏑[–]–‖
⏔⁝–⏑⏑–|⏔:–:⏑⏑–
⏑⏑–:[⏑]⏑–⏑⏑––‖
⏔⁝–:⏑⏑–:[⏔]–⏑⏑–
⏑⏑––‖
⏔⁝–⏔–:⏑⏑–:⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑–|
⏑⏑–⏑:⏑–⏔–[⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑:–:⏑⏑–[⏑⏑–⦀

Epode:
⏔⁝–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–[⏑⏑–
⏑⏑–:⏔–⏑⏑[–]–‖
–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–[⏑⏑|
–⏔–⏔–⏑⏑–⏑[⏑

Bottom of column.

Page believed that, providing this column length is consistently maintained, the metrical pattern of the first column provides the metrical scheme for the rest of the subsequent columns. As each triad consists of twenty-six lines and each column is thirty lines, the metrical pattern of the fourteenth column will be the same as the first. He saw that by placing each fragment metrically within its triad and collating the fragments, preserving their upper and lower margins, at least with the more substantial fragments, he could outline an order of events. There are some immediate minor problems with Page's framework: firstly, it does not allow for human error such as lines repeated, omitted and other ditto-

[134] Vid. pp. 51–52.

graphical mistakes.[135] Admittedly, if the scribe does make the odd error or fails to write faithfully thirty-line per column, its result is not too damaging. However, what is problematic about Page's scheme is his placement of individual fragments within it. He claimed that if the upper or lower margin of a fragment is preserved and the fragment's metrical schema is confirmed, it can be assigned to a particular column within the series of thirteen. Such examples are few and easily enumerated: frr. 3, 7, 9, 10, 12 col. i. and ii.; S. 23; S. 32. With the exception of frr. 7, 9, 10, 12 all the other fragments that retain their upper or lower margins are either too tiny or badly preserved to identify a metrical schema and so cannot be placed into a column. For example, consider fr. 3. The upper margin of this fragment has been preserved. Accepting the value of a reconstructed text the metrical scheme of the first two lines read thus:

⏕]⁝–⏑⏑–|⏕⁚–⁚⏑⏑–
⏑]⏑–⁚⏑⏑–⏑[⏑]––‖

These two lines correspond with the second and third of the anti/strophe.[136] These are the positions given in the texts of Page et al. However, they *also* match the last line of the strophe and the first line of the antistrophe. This means of course that within one series of thirteen columns this particular fragment can have two positions. Each series consists of 390 lines (30 × 13) and if, for argument's sake,[137] the *Geryoneis* was 1950 lines long (five series of 390 lines), fr. 3 could be placed in ten different positions. Frr. 12, the best surviving pieces of the poem, can fall into five positions. Fr. 7 is a long strip of twenty seven lines. This, although being in a better state than fr. 3, can still occupy one of five positions in the poem—if one accepts a length of five series. This is also the case with fr. 9: the left hand and bottom margins of the fragment are preserved and there are also *paragraphi* to indicate endings and beginnings of three damaged stanzas, viz. strophe, antistrophe and epode respectively. Fr. 10 retains its bottom margin and despite some minor metrical problems[138] looks to be the last two lines of an epode and the first six lines of a strophe. Fr. 17's upper margin is clearly visible, but because the fragment is so small, showing only about two and half words, it can be placed

135 Such errors are evident on the papyri, e.g. fr. 70. Page (1973.146) does concede to this problem.

136 Vid. p. 52.

137 Cf. Davison 1962.151.

138 Vid. ad loc.

in a number of positions in either stanza. So too with fr. 26: only six letters can be seen. Off all the other seventy-two fragments of the *Geryoneis* there is not one retaining an upper or lower margins that can be placed in Page's framework. As seen only four of the seven that do have margins can be positioned. Moreover these four still have to be placed in their proper series. Even if one were to argue that 1950 lines are excessive and that 1170 is more plausible, each of these four fragments can still be slotted into one of three positions. This problem is compounded by the fact that the context of many fragments—certainly the smaller ones which Page claimed to be in their proper order[139]— is very obscure. Of course, with the better surviving fragments such as frr. 12 where almost certainly Geryon fights Herakles, the context of the fragments helps to put itself into its proper sequence. With the smaller and badly damaged scraps it is not possible to do this easily. Probably the most important of these smaller fragments is fr. 21:

col. i.	col. ii.	
. . .	.	.
]̣α[		
]φυγην·	[	
]μεν		ἀλλ[
]̣ν		πὲ̣[
]̣τινα·		τοι̣[
]̣αν	$\bar{N}$	ῖ̣̣[
]̣̣θαι	·[	
]	[	
]	[	
]	⟦$\underline{\bar{N}}$⟧[	
. . .	.	.

The first thing to say about these two columns is that because so little of them survive it is very difficult to put them into a metrical scheme. However, thanks to the stichometric number ($\bar{N}$ = 1,300) on line six of column two, Page (1973.147), using his thirty line column hypothesis as a guide, was able to determine that column two of the fragment was the forty-fourth column of the poem (44 × 30 = 1,320). So, according to Page, if the first line of the poem started the papyrus roll and extended to at least line 1,300, the stichometric letter would coincide with the final line of the first epode on column forty-four. Line six from column one corresponds

[139] E.g. fr. 13 Page (1973.147) places in column six of series two.

with the fourth line of column forty-three's epode. It is important to establish these facts because the validity of Page's thirty line hypothesis can be tested here. Apart from the stichometric letter of column two the fragment yields very little. Column two is of more interest because some line endings are seen. For purposes of illustration it might be useful to place the perceived stanza structure of the epode against column one of fr. 21:

] ̣α	Antis. 8	⏑⏑–⏑⁝⏑–⏔–⏑⏑–
]φυγην·	9	⏔–⏑⏑⁝–⁝⏑⏑–⏑⏑–‖‖
]μεν	Epode 1	⏔⁝–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–
] ̣ν	2	⏑⏑–⁝⏔–⏑⏑––‖
] ̣τινα·	3	–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑|
] ̣αν	4	–⏔–⏔–⏑⏑–⏔
] ̣ ̣θαι	5	–⏑⏑–⏔⁝–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–
]	6	⏑⏑––‖
]	7	⏔–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑
]	8	–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–‖‖

Fortunately there is some punctuation on the fragment that corresponds with the anticipated pauses in the stanzas, viz. the close of the antistrophe, and line three of the epode. This corroborates Page's claim for an epode. What weakens it is the length of line seven of his proposed epode: it looks short. Line eight is also very short. It just might be that line seven of this particular epode was a bit short. Whatever the case, there are insufficient grounds for ascribing this column to an epode of the *Geryoneis*. The stanza could quite easily belong to another poem or even the end of the *Geryoneis* with the final lines of column one reading, τέλος ἔχει Γηρυονηΐδος (cf. Turner 1987.49) or just Γηρυονηΐς Στησιχόρου. The other option is that there was a blank space occupying the last lines of fr. 21 col. i. Cf. Ibykos fragment found in Oxyrhynchus dated 2nd century B.C.E (Turner 1987.48). Finally, it is not necessarily so that the stichometric letter refers to the line of the poem; it could quite easily refer to the line on the papyrus roll. Consequently, Page's belief (1973.147) that the *Geryoneis* had to be at least forty-four columns long may well be a false one. In support of his claim, as already seen, some of the larger fragments can be placed in some order; but these are very few. Moreover, even if certain fragments could be placed into their proper column, there is still the issue of putting them into their correct series. It seems far more judicious to jettison Page's sequence and to concentrate on what can be inferred from the fragments themselves. To be fair to Page he did make

some good and valid inferences from the fragments: however, in terms of determining the song's length it is too problematic to be of any real use.

The arguments against a choral performance then appear very dubious. Once the mathematics and mis-readings of testimonia are discounted, there is hardly an argument for a solo performance. Inevitably the only one place left to return is the papyri itself. Unfortunately, there is no explicit reference in the *Geryoneis* to a singing and dancing choros, and all hope of finding future fragments may be lost. Yet, as already seen with other forms of early choral lyric and Attic tragedy, there is evidence of songs *like* the *Geryoneis* being performed by such a choros: if indeed the song in its entirety is lost forever, the comparative studies of metre, language and structure are the only remaining and legitimate means of establishing a mode of performance, which, as they stand today, suggest a choral performance, and not one of monody.

V. *The* Geryoneis *as a Choral Song*

The Archaic period was an important and formative one for the Greeks. The most notable features of the time were the reintroduction of writing and developments in literacy; the emergence of Pan-Hellenism; the inauguration of new city states and mass colonization. It also saw the rise of tyranny and, of course, towards the end of the 6th century, the first steps of democracy. Many things that defined the Greeks in the Classical period, i.e. customs, laws and institutions, had their roots in the Archaic period.[140] This period also witnessed the rise of choral poetry.[141] The initial popularity of choral lyric during this time rested not with individual poets, but upon religious and civic necessity: Greek cities were being founded all over the West and some account of celebration and inauguration was needed. If 6th century society was changing, it was then inevitable that its song should change too. Earlier in Homer four types of choral song are discernible: the paean (*Il.*22.391), Linos's song (*Il.*18.569–571), the wedding song (*Od.*23.133), and the dirge (*Il.*24.777 ff.). They exemplify a well-established phenomenon in preliterate cultures of a traditional song with a specific function belonging to a specific context. Later in the Classical period with the rise of tragedy these traditional

[140] Vid. Dougherty and Kurke 1998.1–2.

[141] According to the 5th century comic poet Eupolis (*PMG* 276(b)) the songs of Stesichoros were old fashioned.

songs were detached from their original function and context, resulting in genres becoming mixed and their distinctions blurred. Although evidence is lacking, there appears to be, between the time of Homer and the Classical period, some development taking place in choral poetry. It is unrealistic to pretend that such a progression can be illustrated with the remains of today's choral lyric: however, there is enough material to provide a historical framework that might favour it.

Most of the surviving choral poetry from the 7th and 6th century was composed for specific functions with a particular context.[142] As choral poetry is public poetry some venue is needed.[143] Taking into consideration the historical background of the *Geryoneis*, the most favourable context for these choral performances would have been a festival: these songs were, not surprisingly with the emergence of new city states, very popular. If indeed the 5th century had its roots in the previous century, the performance of choral songs at such festivals is comparable to those at Attic festivals, where a hymn was performed within some sanctuary. The functions of these hymns were broad and varied. As well as the obvious functions of group cohesion and identity, factors such as public display and divine favour may have well formed part of the *Geryoneis*. A song praising Herakles so well would not only delight the people, but also entice the hero himself to be present, thereby ensuring his favour. Bearing in mind the *do ut des* mentality of the Greeks, one could choose to interpret the *Geryoneis* as a gift to Herakles from the Himeraeans, performed by Stesichoros, in return for an assured continuation of the hero's protection of their community. In this way, the offering would also keep open the reciprocal medium of pleasure and recognition between man and divinity.

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[142] Cf. many of Pindar's paeans were occasional poems, i.e. written to be performed on a particular occasion by a particular choros; and to a lesser extant those of Bakchylides. For Pindar vid. Rutherford 2001.58–68.

[143] Burkert (1987.58–62) imagines Stesichoros as a choral poet travelling the countryside with his choros performing at festivals. This is a possibility, despite the fact that his starting point for this view is a very dubious one (1987.51): 'There is one feature of Stesichorean poetry which contrasts with what we find in Alkman and Ibykos as in Pindar and Bakchylides: there is no overt reference to a specific place, person, or audience … This means that these compositions could be performed everywhere in the Greek world without change, and they obviously were designed for this purpose.' One might be forgiven for not sharing Burkert's confidence on this matter: things are seldom obvious with Stesichoros. Also, the absence of a place name or person can hardly be described as 'feature' of Stesichoros's poetry. The absence of any mention to a specific place is more a characteristic of a very fragmentary text. Certainly with the *Geryoneis*, one is sometimes hard pressed to identify mythical names, let alone actual names.

VI. *Cult of Geryon*

It appears that, at least in the northern hemisphere, many ancient civilisations had triple-headed monsters. The extent to which stories of three-headed creatures can be found in the ancient world suggests that such monsters were known to the Indo-Europeans. The versions attested by Greek, Roman, Slavic and other sources appear to be later spin-offs of what can be described as a very primitive story, possibly even Proto-Indo-European (vid. Lincoln 1976.44–46). The best preserved and closest chronologically to a Proto-Indo-European source come from Vedic and Iranian poetry. The dates for these are not precise: a rough figure places them between 1400–1100 BCE. What remains of the two traditions shows them to be closely linked: this seems apparent from comparative linguistics, e.g., Indo-Iranian **azi*, Vedic *ahi*, Avestan *azhi*. As well as this are the similarities in myth.[144] Both the Ṛgveda and the Avesta tell of triple-headed monsters killed for their cattle. The correspondence between these two versions points to an older account.

The similarities between the Geryon story and early Indic-Iranian material has long been recognised.[145] It looks likely that indigenous people of Sicily[146]—almost certainly the Sikels—came from Indo-European

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[144] Vid. West 2008.260–261, 299–301.

[145] Vid. Dumézil 1942.126–134; Durante 1976.58; Lincoln 1976.42–65; Watkins 1995.464–468; West 2007.260–262. For correspondences between Indra and Herakles vid. Schroeder 1914, and Hercules and Cacus vid. Bréal 1882.1–162. Cf. Hdt.4.8. For Geryon and Ninurta vid. Gangutia Elícegui 1998.231–256. Vid. Appendix III for key passages from the Iranian and Vedic traditions. For the religious significance of many-headed beings and others in early Indian literature vid. Srinivasan 1978.193–225.

[146] It is possible that triple-headed/bodied monsters were common figures in native folk-lore long before the arrival of the Greeks. There is no evidence to support the theory that such monsters were worshipped by the indigenous Sicilians, but it is conceivable that they were held in some reverence by natives. Some connection can be made between Geryon and the serpent deities of the Punjab, which, like Geryon, were associated with wealth often derived from fertility. They also have a chthonic aspect vid. Kosambi 1964. Cf. Geryon and Sicily: vid. Kingsley 1995.79–84. It was believed that the serpent deities held a great power over cows vid. Ronnow 1931.479. The milk of the 11th day after calving was offered to the serpents as a libation; it was held that if the Nagas (from Skt. nāga, *snake*) were not appeased calves would die and cows dry up. It is probable that Nag cults in India's early history were fairly ubiquitous and that later, with the rise of the Hindu gods, such functions and attributes of the Nagas were integrated into the personalities of deities, such as Siva and his wife Devi. Notable is the hybrid form these Nagas took: the bottom half was human, the top was one serpentine body and with many heads, sometimes two or three. Vid. Açvalayana Gṛhya Sutra 3.4.1; cf. Mackenzie 1913. 65. These Nag cults were probably not just restricted to the early provinces of India. They were probably well established by the time of the Vedas dating back to prehistoric times. If

stock and, as they migrated, brought the tale(s) of the triple-headed monster with them.[147] Much later, when the Greeks arrived on the island, the incomers identified the native monster with their own Geryon. If this hypothesis is accepted, the next question is how does such an Indo-European story translate in the Greek mind and subsequently manifest itself? It seems likely that the basic plot of the story remained the same, viz. hero challenges triple-headed creature, a bloody battle ensues, the creature is mutilated, and finally, the hero comes away with the kine. This is more or less what Hesiod says. However, the actual expression of ideas and stories from one culture to another normally passes through some process of cultural assimilation, and often falls subject to artistic technique and taste. The transition from Indic serpent to Greek Geryon need

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such practices were held by Indo-Europeans races one could easily imagine them being diffused in some early stage all over Europe. Vid. Pettazzoni 1946, Adam 1985; also for the far East vid. Scott Littleton 1981. One other point regarding the creatures themselves, is that they are nearly always aboriginal; yet despite this fact their *triple-headedness* marks them as alien, and belonging to 'the other.' Kirfel (1948.181–186) notes that although the triple-headed god was often seen as repellent, in the pre-Indo-European pantheon it was always a major and significant figure. Cf. the 'beast' in the Christian book of Revelation. Vid. Wallace 1948. Later, with the arrival of the Greeks, the story of Herakles circulates in Sicily and eventually Geryon becomes identified with one/all of the native triple-bodied figures on the island. If they had been worshipped from old on Sicily it seems unlikely that with the advent of the Greeks this practice would have stopped: rather than disregard local deities, Greeks would have assimilated and hellenised them. A good example of this and parallel to the Geryon myth is the cult worship of the Paliki in Sicily. Diodoros (11.89) says that the twin brothers were autochthonous deities widely worshipped by the local people. The transition from Sikel deity to Greek is illustrated in a passage from Aischylos's *Aetnaeae* (fr. 3): A. τί δῆτ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα θήσονται βροτοὶ; B. σεμνοὺς Παλικοὺς Ζεὺς ἐφίεται καλεῖν. A. ἦ καὶ Παλικῶν εὐλόγως μενεῖ φάτις; B. πάλιν γὰρ ἥξουσ' ἐκ σκότου τόδ' εἰς φάος. According to Macrobius (*Sat.*5.19.15), the recorder of the passage, Aischylos was the first to offer a Greek explanation for their name, 'coming again.' The linguistic appropriation in the *Aetnaeae* was part of a wider systematic practice of cultural assimilation that was carried out by invading Greeks. This process of providing Greek etymology for local topography or cult was a common feature in colonial discourse. One of the reasons why cultural appropriation and re-presentation was so common in Greek colonization was that it helped celebrate and legitimise the Greeks's presence on foreign soil (Dougherty 1993.89). The transition from native Sikel god to Greek is perhaps captured in the re-birth imagery of the passage, ἐκ σκότου τόδ' εἰς φάος marking the deities's new status. Vid. Str.6.2.9. If Herakles was worshipped in conjunction with Geryon at some festival in Sicily, it is possible that Greeks as well as giving thanks to Herakles, also paid honour to the monster. Greek anxieties about Herakles killing a local deity e.g. Geryon and the possibility of a subsequent backlash from the monster would have led Greeks to appease it. The idea of ongoing hostility even after death, at least for mortals, is well attested: e.g. Hom. *Od.*11.541 ff.; A.R.3.703.

[147] Vid. Conway et al. 1933.431–500.

not be that difficult. In an interesting passage from the Ṛgveda (10.99.6), the three-headed *dasa*, viz. Viçvarupa is called the 'loud-roaring'.[148] This feature of the monster may have been retained by Greeks, and so resulted in the monster being called the 'roarer', hence 'Geryon'.[149]

As already seen the Geryon myth itself has survived relatively well in antiquity; those describing a Geryon cult in the West[150]—in particular Sicily —have not survived very well. There are some however. One of the better preserved examples depicting a Geryon cult appears in Diodoros. The passage describes a festival commemorating Herakles's seizure of Geryon's cattle (5.4.2):

> κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ Συρακόσιοι πανήγυριν ἐπιφανῆ συντελοῦσι, καὶ θύουσιν οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται τὰ ἐλάττω τῶν ἱερείων, δημοσίᾳ δὲ ταύρους βυθίζουσιν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν καταδείξαντος Ἡρακλέους καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς ἐλαύνων περιῆλθε πᾶσαν Σικελίαν.
>
> year by year the Syracusans effect a splendid festival; private individuals offer the smaller of the sacrifices, and, for the [benefit of] community, they plunge bulls into a pool; this [type of] sacrifice being introduced by Herakles on the occasion when he came driving the herd of Geryon through all of Sicily.

The description is an important one, for it shows the myth in a form of re-enactment performed every year in the context of a festival. The ritual dropping of the bulls into water may correspond to the hero's crossing of Erytheia's channel, where some or all of the cattle are in the water. In another passage (4.24.3–4) Diodoros says that when Herakles came to Agyrium he dedicated a temenos to the ἥρωι Γηρυόνῃ ὃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τιμᾶται παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. This is another rare and important statement for it clearly shows Geryon being worshipped as a hero in Sicily, a practice that had been apparently (μέχρι τοῦ νῦν) been taking place for some time.[151] The authenticity of these accounts is corroborated by the

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[148] Cf. Rose 1954.219–220.

[149] γαρύεν, 'to roar', or even 'to praise.' Vid. *Etym. Magn.*231.10; Ael.Dion.3.2.724; Theodos.23; Ter. *L.*9.90.3; Varr.*L.L.*9.51. Cf. Skt. √ gṛ, Lat. garrire, Eng. call; also whence nightin*gale*, possibly too Lat. gallus. It might be worth considering too the etymology of Geryon with his 'προγιαγιά' the *Gorgon* Medusa.

[150] Vid. Plu. *Fab.*22, *Moralia* 278e, 285e, Σ Lyc. *Cass.*663, Verg. *Aen.*8.102–106, Mart.4.57.9–10, Stat. *S.*3.1.180–183, Livy *H.N.*1.7.8, Plaut. *Rud.*150, Macr.3.6.16; et Head 1911.57–59, Kraay 1976.181, Wiseman 2000.108–114.

[151] Other evidence which supports the notion of a Geryon cult is: Lucian (*Ind.*14.6), who says that Geryon's bones were at Thebes; Philostratos offers two possible sites for Geryon's burial, one at Olympia (*Her.*8.17), the other at Gadeira besides two trees that drip the blood of the monster (*VA.*5.5). Pausanias (1.35.7–8) relates a story that the

fact that Diodoros came from Agyrium. These two passages, however, only offer a glimpse. It is known that the monster was worshipped as a hero, but not why. As sources are lacking, one answer to this question may lie in the nature of Greek hero cult.

Repercussions from unjust actions were a common feature of hero cult. An account in Herodotos illustrates this aspect of cult worship, coming from roughly the same period as the *Geryoneis*. He writes (1.165–167) that after the defeat at the Greek colony in Alalia, Corsica, the remaining Phokaians colonists on the island were taken captive and divided among the victorious Carthaginian and Etruscan forces. The Etruscans led their prisoners back home to Etruria and decided to stone them just outside the city of Agylla. Thereafter all men and animals crossing the site where the Greeks had been stoned were strangely afflicted with paralysis. The Agyllaians wanting *ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα*, sent an envoy to Delphi where the Pythia told it to return and pay great honours to the Phokaians with religious rites and a horse race—a practice Herodotos (1.167) says the people of Agylla perform to this day.

The Geryon story is not completely analogous with that of the Phokaians, but it does show how the wrath of those unlawfully killed can be appeased by cult worship. Visser writes (1982.404): 'This is a story told by Greeks for a Greek audience: the Phocaeans are its 'heroes', and the Etruscans, having sinned against an unwritten law of the Greeks, are made to ask for help from a Greek oracle.' If colonists did identify Geryon with a local god it is possible that because the deity suffers at the hands of a Greek—and it is seen as in some way unjust—the 'unwritten law' which Visser mentions requires Greeks to propitiate and remember the slain with cult worship.

Similar examples of this practice can be found in Attic tragedy. Figures once hostile towards a community die, then later become benign and are celebrated in cult worship. In Euripides's *Herakleidai*, Alkmene wishes the enchained Eurystheus to be put to death. However, she is appalled to learn that the Athenians will not kill him as it is shameful to slay a captured enemy (966). Eurystheus is grateful for the piety shown by the Athenians and in turn announces that he is (1032) εὔνους καὶ πόλει σωτήριος: but to Alkmene he maintains his hostility and warns the

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monster's bones ended up in Temenothyrae, Asia Minor. The first two of these accounts may be explained by the localisation of the Geryon story in mainland Greece. The last is noteworthy as it is the only source that places Geryon in the east (cf. pp. 9–11).

Athenians that (1034–1036) τοῖς [the descendants of Alkmene] τῶνδε [their children] δ' ἐκγόνοισι πολεμιώτατος|ὅταν μόλωσι δεῦρο σὺν πολλῇ χερὶ|χάριν προδόντες τήνδε. Eurystheus vows to keep this promise after his death (1044), ὑμᾶς τ' ὀνήσω τούσδε τε βλάψω θανών. If the dead Eurystheus is to act thereafter on behalf of the Athenians he must be remembered in some way, in song or/and cult worship. The elements outlined here (at least in terms of motifs) resemble the proposed framework for a Geryon cult. Both figures are outsiders of the community: just as Geryon was hostile to the Greeks, so too was Eurystheus to the Athenians. Both are portrayed as noble before their death at the hands—in Eurystheus's case indirectly—of that community; the two are later assimilated and transformed from their hostility to become the kindly ones (εὔνους). Finally, the benevolence born of the metamorphosis is perpetuated by cult worship of that figure.

Another figure who fits this paradigm is Aias: when he reacts violently to the decision that Odysseus will get the arms of Achilles he curses (hostility to the community) Atreidai and the whole Greek army (S. *Aj.*843–844). After Aias commits suicide (859–865)—and so dying at the hands of the Greeks— the Greeks, to avoid the pollution of an unburied corpse (assimilated by community), bury him. Also, because the Salaminians fear the curse uttered by Aias, they continue to propitiate the hero in cult worship.[152] Although in this example the antagonistic figure comes from within the community, it does provide further illustration of a hero cult where enemies are transformed into benefactors.

Finally there is one more passage that fits the paradigm, this time recorded by Pausanias.[153] He writes (6.6.7–11) that after the sack of Troy, Odysseus and his men were blown by strong winds on to the shores of Italy and Sicily. During this time they visited many cities, one of which was the Italian town of Temesa, in Calabria. Here one of Odysseus's crew got drunk and forced his attentions on a local girl. The people of Temesa were so appalled by this act that they decided to stone the offender to death. Odysseus cared little for the sailor and continued his journey with the remainder of the crew; however, the ghost of the sailor carried on killing. Unceasing and indiscriminate murders resolved the townsmen to flee from Italy, but the Pythian priestess ordered them to stay in Temesa

[152] Aias was known to be worshiped in Athens, e.g. at Salamis (Hdt.8.64, 121) during the invasion of the Persians; Sophokles's *Aias* may be seen as a dramatisation of Aias's cult worship in Attica. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.*8.7.18; Pl. *Leg.*865d–e. Vid. Henrichs 1993.165–180.

[153] There are some textual issues with this passage. Vid. Lawson 1926.

and propitiate the 'hero'.[154] This was done by building a sanctuary and temple to him, and every year the most beautiful girl of the town was offered to the dead sailor as a wife. It worked: once these rites were performed all terrors from the ghost ended. Pausanias (*ibid.*) goes on to write that later a visitor, Euthymos,[155] came to Temesa and had a strong desire to enter the temple of the sailor. Upon doing so, he saw the maiden and fell in love with her. With a view to marriage, Euthymos determined that he would save the girl by fighting the ghost. Dressed in his armour he successfully fought the ghost, driving the hero out of the land and into the sea. Euthymos married the girl, the townsmen rejoiced because they were free of the ghost, and all lived happily ever after. The paradigm of events is not replicated; however, there are recurring motifs, such as, disgruntled slain figures seeking appeasement, that help make sense of a Geryon cult.[156] As an epilogue to Pausanias's tale, he says that a merchant visited Temesa later and saw a picture illustrating the episode with the ghost. The description of the dead sailor is not dissimilar to many 6th century visual sources depicting Geryon (6.6.11): χρόαν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φοβερός. Both figures were something to fear and revere.

There are no obvious references to cult in the fragments of the *Geryoneis*, which would perhaps be too much to hope for in a text so badly damaged. There are, however, some motifs that can be seen as supporting the notion of a cult. The most attractive of these can be seen in fr. 12 col. ii where one of Geryon's heads droops to one side like a poppy (15–17): ὡς ὅκα μ[ά]κ̣ω̣[ν|ἅτε καταισχύνοισ' ἁπ̣α̣λ̣ὸ̣ν̣ [δέμας|αἶψ' ἀπὸ φύλλα βαλοῖσα̣ ̣[. This has led some to believe (e.g. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1991) that Stesichoros is presenting Geryon in a sympathetic light. Although plant similes are quite common in epic poetry,[157] Stesichoros's comparison of a soft-limbed flower to an armoured three-headed monster is remarkable, and one which perhaps gives some credence to the idea of a sympathetic portrait. As well as fear (vid. supra), one other way in which the death of the hero can engage the emotions of the participants of a cult is by a sympathetic presentation of his demise.[158] By sharing in the

154 Cf. D.S. 4.24 ἥρωι Γηρυόνῃ.

155 For the cult worship of Euthymos and his identification with Herakles vid. Currie 2002.

156 For other examples of this phenomenon vid. Ekroth 2002. 91–97, 196–199.

157 Vid. fr. 12 col. ii.14–17.

158 Cf. Seaford 1994.123–124.

monster's pain and distress the participants are able to experience feelings of pity. If the principal function of the *Geryoneis* was to propitiate the monster, such emotions as pity and fear would have been a powerful motive for continuing this ritual assuagement (D.S.5.4.2 supra) κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν. Added to this, one could include the notion of an unjust slaying (fr. 8.10 ἀ]δ̣ίκοισιν[; fr. 16 col. i 3]αδικω[ς): an unlawful killing, like that of the Phokaians (supra), would also evoke feelings of pity and perhaps shame. One final point worthy of comment is the speech by Geryon's mother, Kallirrhoe. In fr. 6.3 she cries (3) κ]αὶ ἄλ̣[ασ]τ̣α̣ π̣α̣θοῖσα, 'suffered things unforgettable'—a phrase sometimes found in songs associated with cult. The nearest parallel to this is Oidipous's speech (*O.C.*538) ἔπαθον ἄλαστ' ἔχειν. The aetiology of his Attic cult seems to have been dramatised by Sophokles in *Oidipous Kolonos*.[159] The sufferings endured by Oidipous are not to be forgotten, meaning that they should in some way be commemorated. A similar expression is found in a Euripides's *Erechtheus*. This play is believed to be connected to the Attic cult of Erechtheus. Euripides dramatises the sacrifice made by the king's daughter in order to ensure victory over Eumolpos. Because of the sacrifice made on behalf of the Athenians, Athena orders the inauguration of her cult (and her sisters, who killed themselves in sympathy): (fr. 65.77–79 Austin) τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστο[ῖς λέγω|ἐνιαυσίαις σφας μὴ λελησμ[ένους χρόνῳ|θυσίαισι τιμᾶν καὶ σφαγαῖσι [βουκ]τόνοις. The sisters are all buried in the same tomb, 'not forgotten with time and to be honoured with yearly sacrifice and oxen slaughter.' The telling, and re-telling, of their piteous deaths, like perhaps that of Geryon, would help maintain the cult. Cf. Alc. *PMG* fr. 1.34–35 ἄλαστα δὲ|ϝέργα πάσον κακὰ μησαμένοι. The observations made above regarding the *Geryoneis* are, of course, very tentative: after all, even with the bigger fragments, one is often hard pressed to establish the simplest of facts, e.g. who is talking to whom. It might be worth considering, though, the motifs identified here as relating to a cult performance. The 'unforgettable things' that Kallirrhoe suffers, viz. the unjust killing of her offspring and theft of the herd, could be imagined as acts that were remembered and honoured in a Geryon cult.

The likelihood of Stesichoros's *Geryoneis* as a song performed at some festival seems at least now feasible. It makes sense of the *Geryoneis* as a choral song and supports the notion that Stesichoros portrayed the monster Geryon in a sympathetic light. The Greek Sicilians may have

[159] Vid. Kearns 1989.50–52, Seaford 1994.130.

been anxious about killing a native daemon, and so, fearing reprisals, may have sought some kind of ritual appeasement. This assuagement of the monster's wrath need not be at odds with the idea already proposed (vid. supra) that the *Geryoneis* was performed at a festival in honour of Herakles. After all, it is quite possible for both the hero and his killer/enemy to receive the same cult. Cf. Apollo and Hyakinthos at Sparta,[160] Aphrodite and Hippolytos at Athens (vid. Barrett 1964.5). It has long been held[161] that the *Geryoneis* correlated with the widespread fighting on Sicily during the 6th century. It is now possible, however, to view the song as part of a cult and as something quite independent of local fighting.

VII. *Language and Phonology*[162]

Most of what can be said about Stesichoros's style and language here is general and applies to the entire Stesichorean *corpus*, not just the *Geryoneis*. Individual particularities are mentioned in the commentary section. As Stesichoros's poetry is so fragmentary this discussion of his language and style has to be limited.

The most striking feature of Stesichoros's language is that it is polymorphic: often, for purposes of metrical expediency the poet draws upon an array of dialect forms to create a language which is essentially artificial. Mostly, it is an amalgam of Doric, Aeolic and Epic-Ionic elements. It is clear from the poet's diction, vocabulary and prosody that the influence of epic poetry was tremendous.[163] The dactylic metre employed by Stesichoros accommodates epic phraseology and words in his *Geryoneis*. Stesichoros was familiar with epic narrative and language. He is not, of course, merely mimicking Homer, but clearly he was influenced by epic verse.[164] Stesichoros is closer to Homer, thematically, metrically and linguistically, than any choral poet, e.g. Alkman,

[160] Paus.3.19.3. Vid. Calame 2001.174–185.

[161] E.g. Dunbabin 1948.330.

[162] For previous studies of early choral language vid. Pavese 1967, 1972, Nöthiger 1971, Felsenthal 1980.

[163] Cf. *Anth. Pal.*9.184.3; Longin. *de subl.*13.3; Athen.14.620c.

[164] Cf. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos's clumsy analysis (1990.22–23): 'In the foregoing section of this survey Homer has been a permanent point of reference as he is bound to be, since he is the fountain-head of all poetry. The reliance of our poet [Stesichoros?] on the epic poetry is well known … and Stesichorean studies inevitably turn out to be a 'Homerica Interpretatio', to a certain degree, of course.'

Pindar and Bakchylides. Stesichoros has been compared to Homer,[165] and described as the poet who composed epic verses and clothed them in lyric song.[166] For Quintilian (T. 34), Stesichoros is a close rival to Homer. Hermogenes took great pleasure in Stesichoros's abundant use of epithets.[167] Long drawn-out description and speeches are evident in the *Geryoneis*, and this descriptive fullness became a characteristic of Stesichoros's poetry, a trait later developed further in the lyric narratives of Bakchylides.

Stesichoros's dialect, like other composers of choral poetry, is predominantly Doric.[168] Choral lyric was developed among the Doric people and gave birth to a Spartan and Korinthian musical tradition that culminated in the 7th century.[169] The vernacular of Stesichoros's Himera[170] was a fusion of Doric and Chalcidian dialects, which, according to Thukydides,[171] caused by the mixed origins of the city. The interchange of these forms allows Stesichoros to exploit the unlengthened Doric and lengthened Ionic forms to fit his metrical scheme. He continues the literary practice of early epic poets to create a language that was never part of any real speech community. This synthesis in Stesichoros's language, as with Homer, produces a composite voice that is melodic and grandiose: he capitalises on this.[172]

1. *Dialect*

Long α for η: the most obvious linguistic feature in literary Doric is its long alpha for the Attic/Ionic eta which Stesichoros employs freely in his works, e.g. παγὰς (*Gery.* fr. 14.3), κε]φαλάν (14.1), Ἀθάνα (10.3), λάθραι (13.8).

165 Dio Chrys.2.33. Cf. *Anth. Pal.*7.75; 9.184.4.
166 Plut. *Mor.*1132c.
167 *Id.*2.4.
168 A very vague term to say the least: the choral language 'Doric' covers many subdialects scattered all over the Greek mainland. Vid. Pavese 1967.181.
169 For an overview of choral lyric vid. Palmer 1980.119–130.
170 Founded in circa 649 by a fusion of Zanclaeans and the exiled Myletidai from Syracuse.
171 The city, he claims (Th.6.5.1.) was colonised from Zankle by Eukleidos, Simos and Sakon. Although many of the colonists were Chalcidians the language spoken was a mixture of Doric and Chalcidic. Also, he says that the Messenians spoke in a Doric dialect. (3.112.4). Vid. Gallavotti 1977.12.
172 Hor. *Carm.*4.9.5–8; D. Chr. *Or.*2.28; Dion. Hal. *Comp.*24, *Imit.*2.421; Plin. *H.N.* 10.82; Stat. *S.*5.3.154.

α for ε: this form is common in many Western dialects, appearing on many early inscriptions (Buck 2001.24). There are some examples of this in the remains of Stesichoros's works, the adjective ἱαρὰν (222. col. ii. 6), ἱαρᾶς (*Gery.* fr. 1.4), possibly with ịαραịς . . . [(S. 103.1), and ἱ]αρὰν (S. 105.12). Cf. the Ionic adjective ịρὰν for Attic ἱεράν (222A.205).

ᾱ for ω: there are examples of genitive plural ᾱ stems contracting into the form recognised in the West Greek dialect, e.g. π̣α̣σ̣ᾶ[ν (222B fr. 45.6), Μοισᾶν̣[(222B. fr. 26.15). Cf. Attic (-ᾱων) -ῶν.

αε for η: the Ionic uncontracted form of αε is reasonably common in the scant fragments of the Stesichorean *corpus*: -λεγχέα (*Gery.* fr. 7.12), ἄστεα (222A.302); περικαλλέα (222A.276; cf. *Gery.* fr. 3.2).

The uncontracted αο appears only in proper names, Ἄλκμαον (S. 148. col. i. 3), Εἰλατίδαο (222. col. i. 9), Ἀμφιάραος (179.3).

η for α: this is a feature of the Attic/Ionic dialect. There is only example of this, preserved by Plato, νηυσίν (Pl. *Phaedr.*243a = 192).[173]

Compensatory lengthening. ο for ου: a frequent characteristic of the Ionic dialect was the diphthong ου for the Attic ο. This is the result of the loss of a post-consonantal digamma accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding vowel. This form has survived only once, κούρα (κόρϝα. Cf. Myc. *ko-wo*) (200), similarly κουριδίαν (*Gery.* fr. 1.6), cf. αἰολοδε[ίρ]ọυ (*Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii. 5), Arcad. δέρϝα, Attic δέρα. Also falling into this category is the dialect form (*Gery.* fr. 6.4) γων[]άζομα[ι, Attic γουν(ϝ)άζομαι.

οι for ου: a feature of the Aeolic dialect and frequent in Stesichoros both in nouns, e.g. (210.1) Μοῖσα (*μόντια, *μόνσα, Attic μοῦσα), and participles, e.g. (*Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.16) καταισχύνοισ'.

ω for ου: this is common in Kretan, Lesbian et al. There is only one proper example (cf. *Gery.* fr. 6.4) of this in the *corpus* (P.Oxy. 2360 col. i.3) ὠρανόθεν (< *ϝορσ-? Vid. Nöthiger 1971.74).

There is some dialect variation. Most remarkable are: Epic μέμβλε[τ]ο (222B.62.7) for Attic ἐμεμέλητο; Doric ἦνθον (222A.303) for Attic ἦλθον, Doric ἔ̣χοντι (*Gery.* fr. 3.4) for Attic ἔχουσι, Doric πέποσχα (Phot. *Lex.* (ii 76 Naber)) for Attic πέπονθα; Ionic γινομέναν (271) for Attic

[173] This is perhaps a result of the transmission of Plato's text.

γιγνομέναν. Also noteworthy is the doubling of consonants: τέλεσσαι (222A.210); ἐϋσσέλμοις (192.2), μακά̣[ρε]σσι (*Gery*. fr. 7.25), στήθεσσι (222A.249), στήθεσσιν (222A.282),]Κ̣ηρσσίν (222B.26.28).[174] Others, the Doric pronominal adverb ποκά̣[(*Gery*. fr. 13.3. Cf. 222A.214; 223; 222B.35.10) for Attic ποτέ; similarly with the Doric relative ὅκα (*Gery*. fr. 12 col. ii.15. Cf. 211) for Attic ὅτε. Examples of prepositions: very common is the Doric form ποτί (*Gery*. fr. 10.4; fr. 1.4,6; 187.1; 209 col. i. 2; 245) for the only twice cited Attic/Ionic (S. 88 col. ii. 6; 222B.39.14) προς; also the Doric πεδ' (210.1) for Attic/Ionic μετά.

The only feature of dialect (outside Attic) accentuation is the Doric paroxytone accents on proparoxytone forms. Doric nominative plural forms in -οι or -αι have their accent on the penultimate syllable, where Attic and Ionic have recessive accents. This practice can be confirmed on some papyri fragments. In the *Geryoneis*, ἐχοίσαι (fr. 2.2), διαπρυσίοι (fr. 11.7), ἀρίστοι (fr. 21.2); elsewhere in the *corpus*, ὀψιγόνοι τε καὶ ἀσπασί-|]οι (222. col. i. 2), ὑπερθύμοι (col. ii. 5). Moreover, Doric third person plural past indicative verbs ending in -ον or -αν have an accent on the penultimate syllable: ἠλύθον (*Gery*. fr. 33.3), ἱζάνον (222. col. ii. 2–3).

2. *Vocabulary*

The vocabulary used by Stesichoros is comparable to that of early epic. Examples of epic diction are many in the *corpus*, and are for the most part found in Homer. One obvious explanation for the presence of epic phraseology and word clusters in Stesichoros is the ease with which they can slide into his dactylic verse. For purposes of composition, in some of the longer metrical runs a whole line of Homer (vid. infra) can easily be adapted to slot into his elaborate stanzas. Stesichoros's debt to the epic poetry seems obvious. Individual words can easily be found throughout his works; little is gained by cataloguing them when better illustrations of epic influence are found in word clusters and phrases: νηυσὶν ἐϋσσέλμοις (192.2), cf. νηυσὶν ἐυσσέλμοισιν (Hom. *Od*.4.409 et al.); αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ πρᾶ [(S. 148. col. i. 9), cf. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ … (*Od*.1.303 et al.); Τρῶες

[174] Vid. Nöthiger 1971.19–25. Both short and long datives are found on inscriptions from all over Sicily: e.g. ἀ]λειφομένοις (Dubois 1989.222); συνοικιξάντεσσι (122). For an overview of local scripts in western colonies vid. Jeffery 1990. 235–288.

πολέες τ̣' ἐπίκ̣[ου]ροι (S. 88. col. ii. 7), cf. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες κλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι (*Il.*6.227);]ρσαντες ἐυκτιμε[(S. 107.7), cf. ἐκπέρσαντες ἐϋκτίμενον (*Il.*21.433); δι' αἰθέρο[ς ἀτ]ρυγέτας (209. col. i. 4), cf. δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο (*Il.*17.425 et al., Hes. fr. 150.35); λακέρυζα κορώνα (209. col. i. 9), cf. λακέρυζα κορώνη (Hes. *Op.*747 et fr. 304.1); καὶ τὰ μὲν εὐ ̣[(209. col. ii. 5), cf. καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ ... (Hom. *Il.*9.210 et al.); ἐκ δ' ἄρα (219.2), cf. ἐκ δ' ἄρα ... (*Il.*4.525 et al.); χθόνα πυροφόρ[ον (222. col. ii. 7), cf. ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο (*Il.*12.314 et al.); λιπαρὰ πόλ̣[ιν (222B.25(b).2), cf. λιπαρὴν πόλι[ν (Hes. fr. 196.4); γαιάχος ἁγνὸς (S. 105(b).10), cf. ἄλος ἁγνὸν ἐρισφαράγου Γαιηόχου (Hom. *h.Merc.*186–187); σάρκα [καὶ] ὀ[στ]έα (*Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.8), cf. σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα (*Od.*9.293 et al.); δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περάσαις (*Gery.* fr. 1.3), cf. δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περήσῃς (*Od.*10.508); χαλεπὰς ποίε̣ι̣ μ̣ε̣ρ̣ίμνας (222A.201), cf. χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας (Hes. *Op.*178); ἄναξ ἐ̣κ̣ά̣ε̣ργ̣ο̣ς Ἀπόλλων (222A.209), cf. ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων (Hom. *Il.*15.253 et al.); θανάτου τέλος (222A.213), cf. θανάτοιο τέλος (*Il.*3.309); ὣς φάτ[ο] (222A.232), cf. ὣς φάτο (*Il.*1.188 et al.); μύθ̣ο̣ις ἀγ[α]ν̣ο̣ῖς (222A.232), cf. μύθοις ἀγανοῖσι (*Od.*15.53).

In addition to these clusters are some epithets used by Stesichoros: of Chrysaor ἀρηίφιλ̣ο̣[ν (*Gery.* fr. 5.3), in epic (e.g. Hom. *Il.*2.778, Hes. *Th.*317) and Pindar (*I.*8.25); of Poseidon ἱ]πποκέλευθον (*Gery.*fr. 10.5), in Homer this epithet is only attested with Patroklos (*Il.*16.126, 584, 839); of Muse (?) φιλόμολπε (193), frequent enough in lyric, first visible in Alkman of Apollo (?) (12A) and later in Korinna of the Muse(?) (692.2.5), also in Pindar (*N.*7.9); of Muse (?) χρυσόπτερε (193), three times in Homer to Iris (*Il.*8.398 = 11.185, *h.Cer.*314); of Apollo ἐ̣κ̣ά̣ε̣ργ̣ο̣ς (222A.209), as in Homer (*Il.*1.479 et al.); of Artemis ἰοχέαιρα (222B.2 + 6(b).6), as in Homer (*Il.*5.53 et al.); of Athena περσέπολιν (274) as in Aristophanes (*Nu.*967) and Lamprokles (1a.1, 1b.1); of Aphrodite Κ]υπρογενὴς (S. 104.6), as in Pindar (*O.*10.105) et al.

There are also numerous compounds and epithets first attested in Stesichoros: ἀρ-|γυρορίζους (*Gery.* fr. 14.3–4), αἰολοδε[ίρ]ο̣υ (*Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.5), τριλάγυνον (*Gery.* fr. 15.2), λιθαργύρεον (188), κλαροπαληδ̣ὸν (222A.223), ἀγρεσ[ι]θήρα (222B.2 + 6(b).7), διγάμους (223.4), τριγάμους (223.4), λιπεσάνορας (223.5), κοιλωνύχων (235), πυλαιμάχε (243), ἀνίψαλον (249), ἀρχεσίμολπον (250), ἐρίσφηλον (253), ἐμπορικὸν (272), τρ̣[ι]π̣α̣λ̣α̣ιγ̣ε̣ν̣ὲς (222B.40.12), ἀκεσταλίων (247), κυνυλαγμοῖο (255), παιγμοσύνας (232), Ἀναξάνδροιο (S. 148. col. ii. 8), Ἐ]ννοσίδας (S. 105(b).10), Μεσόνυξ (259), πηνέλοψ (262).

3. *Prosody*

The digamma does not appear on the papyri, but it is indicated by hiatus. It is possible that the hiatus marks some pause in metre (vid. *Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.5). Stesichoros, like Homer, appears to be inconsistent in his use of the digamma. Where the metrical scheme is more or less certain the digamma is seen being respected and disregarded, so effecting the quantity of the preceding syllable. Thus respected in τεὰς (ϝ)ἄναξ (222A.209), πόλιν (ϝ)ἁλοίσαν (222A.217), ἄ]γ̣εν (ϝ)ἕλικας (222A.272), etc. Clear evidence of digamma disregarded, e.g., καὶ ἀρηίφιλ̣ο̣[ν, sic ⏑⏑–⏑⏑[–̣ (*Gery.* fr. 5.4), δίφρον ἄνακτι, –⏑⏑–⏑ (187.1).

Certain examples of hiatus: αἰολοδε[ίρ]ο̣υ | ὀδύναισιν (*Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.5–6), πί' ἐπισχόμενος (*Gery.* fr. 15.3), δύ' ἐμοί (S. 150.7), ἐπίκ̣[ου]-ρ̣οι | ἔ̣ϑ̣λ̣ετε (S. 88. col. ii. 7–8), πε]ύσεαι ἐμ (222B.4.7), Αἰόλου Ἱπ[π]ο̣-τάδα (222B.62.5), πάτρῳ ἐμὸν (228), καὶ ὑπερθύμοι (222. col. ii. 5). Uncertain:]Κ̣[α]δ̣μεῖ̣ο̣ι̣ ερ̣ (222B.39.15), ὄφι ε[(222B.43. ii. 3), καὶ ἐχ[(222B.62.1), καὶ ἵπ[πους (222A.272), καὶ ἀμ[(fr. 11.2).

As in the Attic dialect, the quantity of syllables ending in a mute and followed by a liquid can be either short or long in epic. In Homer the muta cum liquida construction produces more long syllables than short. In contrast to this is the practice by poets of Attic tragedy to shorten their vowels. In the surviving fragments of Stesichoros's works both lengthening and shortening appear commonplace.[175] Obviously today's fragments are a very small sample of a greater *corpus* of poetry, and so to estimate the ratio of shortened syllables to lengthened ones would be misleading. Nevertheless, for what it is worth, the frequency with which short syllables appear in muta cum liquida is roughly the same as that of lengthened ones. The ratio is proportionally close to Bakchylides's. Short positions of labial mutes: e.g. π, ἀσπίδα προσ̣ (*Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.12), β, βεβροτωμένος (219.1), φ, κατεφράζ̣ε̣τ̣[ό] (*Gery.* fr. 12.col. i.10); of palatal e.g. κ, ἀπέκλινε (*Gery.* fr. 12.col. ii.14), χ, μέλι χλωρόν (179a.2); of dental e.g. τ, πότμο[υ (222A.226), δ, Κάδμου (222A.229), ϑ, λάθραι (*Gery.* fr. 12.col. i.8). Long positions of labial mutes, e.g. π, πέπλ̣[ον (*Gery.* fr. 6.10), β, ἁβρῶς (212.2), φ, δάφναισι (*Gery.* fr. 1.8); of palatal e.g. κ, ἐπι-|κλοπάδαν (*Gery.*12 col. ii.6–7), γ,]φυ̣λαγμε̣[(*Gery.* fr. 9.2); of dental τ, e.g., με̣τ[ρα] (S. 89.8), δ, Ἀδράστοὶ (222A.275), ϑ, ὄλεθρον (*Gery.* fr. 6.11).

[175] Vid. Führer 1978.180–186.

The second metrical expedient deployed by Stesichoros is correption. The shortening of a long final syllable preceding a word starting with a vowel is frequently used by Homer and appears six times in the *Geryoneis*: καὶ ἀρηίφιλο̣[ν (fr. 5.4), καὶ ἀγή[ραος (*Gery*. fr. 7.9), καὶ ὀνειδε[α (22), καὶ ἀλασ[τοτόκος (fr. 6.1–2), κ]αὶ ἄλ̣[ασ]τ̣α (fr. 6.2), καὶ ἀμ[(fr. 11.2), and frequently elsewhere e.g.: καὶ αἰχμᾶι (S. 88. col. i. 6), καὶ ἅματα (S. 104.11), καὶ ἄριστον (S. 148. col. i.4), καὶ Ἅρπαγον (178), καὶ ἐγκρίδας (179a.1), καὶ ἀμάχανα (244), καὶ ἀσπασί- | οι (222 col. i.1–2).

In addition to these two devices, Stesichoros omits augments on imperfect and aorist forms, allowing him greater metrical flexibility. This practice is commonplace in Homer and seemingly so in Stesichoros, e.g. in the *Geryoneis*, ἀφίκον[το (fr. 3.1–2), διέλε̣[ν (fr. 12 col. ii.5), [ἐ]νέρεισε (fr. 12 col. ii.7), σχέθεν (fr. 12 col. ii.10), πί' (fr. 15.3); elsewhere e.g. νίκασεν (179b.2), διάσταν (S. 88.i.11), φᾳ[τ]ο (S. 88.ii.15), πίτνη (S. 105b.7), ἐκθόρον (9), μόλ' (222.i.6), λάθετ' (223.2).

VIII. *Metre*

Since the publication of the P.Oxy.2617 fragments much more is known about the *Geryoneis*. As well as shedding light on the poem's contents, the discovery of the larger fragments reveals, at last, some kind of outline for the poem's stanzas; moreover a metrical schema of dactyls can now be constructed with some degree of confidence.[176] Page proposed the first detailed metrical schema for the *Geryoneis* in 1973.[177] The representation of the metre and stanza structure set out here is more or less consistent with Page's.[178]

1. *Anti/strophe*

Thanks to some of the better surviving fragments of P.Oxy. 2617 the strophe and antistrophe of the song can be now reconstructed with some confidence. Illustrated thus:

[176] For good detailed and comprehensive metrical studies on other Stesichorean compositions vid. Haslam 1974. Also Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1987.

[177] There are earlier descriptive works that touch upon the poem's metre, vid. Lobel 1968; Webster 1968.

[178] Among scholars there does not seem to be much dispute about the actual stanza structure and metre. What has been contested is Page's arrangement of individual fragments (vid. supra).

⏔⁝–⏔–⏑⏑––‖ ⏔ *3 da* ∧‖
⏔⁝–⏑⏑–|⏔⁝–⁝⏑⏑–
⏑⏑–⁝⏔–⏑⏑––‖ ⏔ *7 da* ∧‖
⏔⁝–⁝⏑⏑–⁝⏔–⏑⏑–
⏑⏑––‖ ⏔ *5 da* ∧‖
⏔⁝–⏔–⁝⏑⏑–⁝⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑–|
⏑⏑–⏑⁝⏑–⏔–⏑⏑–
⏔–⏑⏑⁝–⁝⏑⏑–⏑⏑–‖| ⏔ *14 da* ∧∧‖|

2. *Epode*

The colometry of the epode is to a greater extent subject to supplement and conjecture:[179] it is possible that the end of line two is in hiatus, denoting the completion of seven dactyls. The first eight lines of fragment fr. 6 (2–9) look to be the remains of an epode (vid. supra). If the reconstruction of the stanza is accepted there is a pause at the end of line two (2–3): τοτόκος κ]αὶ ἄλ̣[ασ]τ̣α̣ π̣α̣θοῖσα |ἀλλά σε Γ]αρυόνα γωνάζομα[ι. As with the anti/strophe's line five, the epode's line six is very short and terminates in *brevis in longo*, indicating a metrical break after fourteen dactyls, e.g. fr. 7.10,[180] followed by the commencement of the final six dactyls to end the epode. There are two positions that coincide with a word-ending (fr. 14.4, fr. 6.4) which could theoretically be metrical pauses. So the epode's colometry can be represented thus:

⏔⁝–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–
⏑⏑–⁝⏔–⏑⏑––‖ ⏔ *7 da* ∧‖
–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑|
–⏔–⏔–⏑⏑–⏔
–⏑⏑–⏔⁝–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–
⏑⏑––‖ ⏔ *14 da* ∧‖
⏔–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑
–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–‖| ⏔ *6 da* ∧∧‖|

[179] The paucity of evidence for the stanza greatly impedes the recovery of the epode's metrical schema; this does cast some degree of doubt on its reconstruction and so to the placement of individual fragments ascribed to the epode. Vid. Snell 1968; Führer 1969; Haslam 1974. Cf. Pavese 1978.68–74.

[180] Cf. fr. 6.7.

3. *Metre*

The metrical schema of the *Geryoneis* looks dactylic. The metre, with the prefix of an anacrusis,[181] i.e. the first longum of the period preceded by a longum/double breve, (marked here by ⁝) is a run of ‘rising’ dactyls which is maintained throughout the anti/strophe and most of the epode. Alternatively, a stream of anapaests is possible, However, in view of Stesichoros’s other compositions, dactyls look more likely; also the resolution and responsion that the stanzas exhibit are good indications of dactylic verse. As there is a predominant element of dactyls present in many[182] of his poems,[183] and in view of both the language and the influence of epic, it is safe to assume that the metre of the *Geryoneis* is dactylic.[184] The ps.Plutarch says that Stesichoros composed in the dactylic rhythm.[185] In Stesichoros’s *Iliou Persis*, *Oresteia*, *Palinode*, *Thebaid* and *Nostoi*, the metre was an admixture of dactyls and iambo-trochaic elements.[186] The *Geryoneis*, like his *Syotherai*,[187] shows a pure dactylic metre with no metrical break in the cola, but lines beginning with -⏑⏑ or ⏔-⏑⏑, and endings with ... ⏑- or ... ⏑-×.

The cola are punctuated by a series of pauses that mark self-contained metrical units: if a pause occurs it must always be at the end of a full word. A pause may also occur at the conclusion of a passage or expression: this

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181 The anacrusis, ‘upbeat’, is believed to be a recognisable ictus that indicated a line starting with an upward stroke/step (oppositio *thesis*). Cf. the anacrusis inserted in Ibykos’s dactylic metre in a fragment preserved by Plato (*Prm.*137a).

182 E.g. the metre in Stesichoros’s *Iliou Persis* is dactylo-epitrite; as in the *Eriphyle* and the *Oresteia*, so too in *Helen* and the *Palinode(s)*. The *Nostoi* also shows characteristics of the dactylo-epitrite metre. The *Syotherai* seems to resemble the metre of the *Geryoneis*, i.e. straight dactyls.

183 Cf. Diomed. *ars gramm.*3; fr. Bob. (vi 623 Keil); Serv. *cent. metr.* (iv 461 Keil); Serv. *ibid.*; Serv. (iv 462 Keil); Caes. Bass. *metr.*2 (vi 256 Keil); M. Plot. Sacerd.3.11 (vi 543s. Keil).

184 The metrical schema of dactyls was first discussed by Wilamowitz who proposes that Euripides’s *Suppl.*71, 598, 617 is modelled on Stesichoros’s *Geryoneis* and on a fragment by Ibykos: Es genügt auch die Verweisung auf ihre Vorbilder: die chalkidischen Strophen des Ibykos (frgm. 1.2) und Stesichoros (*Geryoneis*), und dann auf den vorletzten Vers, der aus zwei rein daktylischen Reihen besteht, einem Tetrameter und einem Trimeter (Wilamowitz.1883.400 n. 1).

185 *de Mus.*7.1133ef. Cf. 3.1132bc, 12.1135c.

186 The dactylic sequences of these poems are, for the most part, made up of -⏑⏑, ×-⏑⏑, and ×-⏑⏑-. Vid. Irigoin 1953.38, West 1987.37. Cf. the metre of Sophokles’s paean (*PMG* 737).

187 For fragments vid. P.Oxy. 2359.1.

termination is sometimes shown by hiatus or *brevis in longo*.[188] The pause is represented by the symbol || that marks the end of a metrical sequence. In addition to these stops, there are positions where word ending is either regular or frequent, but without the licences allowed at a pause, i.e. hiatus and *brevis in longo*. When such positions occur within a metrical foot they are called *caesurae*, and when between two feet, *diaereses*. When these positions arise without exception they are indicated by the symbol|; where the position is expected it is marked by the symbol ⁝.

Returning to the templates constructed above for the anti/strophe and epode, these principles can now be applied. In both the anti/strophe and the epode period ends can be marked by hiatus and/or *brevis in longo*.[189] Except at the termination of a stanza, the endings of metrical sequences conclude for the greater part in ⏑⏑-- where the biceps of the colon never contract into a *longum*. The first line of the anti/strophe in the best surviving fragment fr. 12 col. ii.5, stands in hiatus with the word starting the subsequent line ọλεσάνορος αἰολοδε[ịρ]οụ|ὀδύναισιν …, and so may coincide with a metrical pause after a short run of three dactyls, sic ⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⏑⏑--|| ⏑⏑-⏑ …. In what looks to be the end of an opening line of an anti/strophe is a *mese stigme* indicating a pause, ϰ̣ρ̣αταιῶι·. If the supplements are accepted, at the conclusion of lines four and five in fr. 10, εὖ φάσκεν ἰθὺ]ς ποτὶ ὃν κρατερό-|φρονα πάτρῳ ἱ]πποκέλευθον·, sic ⏒-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⏒-⏑⏑--||, marks a stop as its position is *brevis in longo*.[190] As with the short break of three dactyls above, this run ends with a pendant ending (i.e., … ⏑-×: signified by the symbol ‸) that may have facilitated the integration of epic language and material into the *Geryoneis*, as the metra resemble the second half of an epic hexameter sic:|-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-×.[191] There are two masculine caesurae on the second metron and the fifth. The third period is a run of five dactyls ending on line five with a *brevis in longo* (fr. 7.25–26),[192] μ]ῆ̣ τοῦτο φ[ί]λ̣ον μακά̣[ρε]σσι θε[ο]ῖ|σι γ]ένοιτο, sic: --⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⏑⏑--; there is pause with the masculine caesura in the second metron. The ending of this run of five dactyls in fr. 12 col. ii.9 is marked by a *mese stigma* on the papyrus, -μονος αἴσαι·. The remainder of the anti/strophe is

[188] Vid. Stinton 1977.

[189] Dale 1968.26.

[190] Cf. fr. 12 col. i.11 πι]κρὸν ὄλεθρον.

[191] Cf. A.*Pers*.584; Ar. *Av*.1749.

[192] Cf. *Gery*. fr. 3.4. fr. 10.2. For the metrical schema cf: Heph. fr. 5; et S.*Aj*.225–229.

a long chain of fourteen dactyls[193] that is concluded by the blunt ending (i.e., … ⏑–: its presence is marked by the symbol ∧∧) and paragraphus notation; in fr. 12 col. ii.17 the termination of the final line in the anti/strophe is marked with a *mese stigma*, ζαπέδωι·. The metra are disturbed only by a short pause indicated by the final masculine caesura in the sixth metron. The end of the stanza is denoted by the symbol |||.

On the second line of the anti/strophe after the second longum in *all*[194] surviving stanzas appears a word end, fr. 12 col. ii.6's ὀδύναισιν ῞Υδρας· σιγᾶι δ' ὅ γ' ἐπι; also, fr. 7.14 κεραϊ[ζομένας ἐπιδῆν βόας ἁ-; 23 καὶ παντὶ γέ[νει καταχευέμεν ἐξ-;[195] these word endings are indicated thus:|. Less consistent are the word endings on lines three and four: the former after one dactyl,[196] κλοπάδαν, the latter after two metra,[197] διὰ δ' ἔσχισε, but these are frequent enough to warrant a fixed pause and so marked ⁝.

Contraction of ⏑⏑ to – occurs both in the anti/strophe and the epode, except in the clausula, thus –⏑⏑––. The longum is never resolved: one method of distinguishing rising dactyls from anapaests in early choral poetry[198] is that the *longum* is almost never resolved into two short.[199] The evidence suggests that when there is a contraction the following biceps remains disyllabic; also the contraction is not permitted to coincide with the word ending: rather there is a bridge between it and the following longum.[200]

The simple and repetitive structure of strophe, antistrophe and epode along with the stability of the metre helps achieve a steady rhythm. The termination of metrical runs, Haslam notes (1974.17), helps to punctuate the action of the poem and frequently coincides (e.g. fr. 12 col. ii.6) with the endings of key 'sense-units'. As well as the components that make up the external responsion, there is a sense of rhythm at play within the internal responsion of the strophe and antistrophe with its

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[193] It was these long periods that came to characterise later choral poetry and distinct from the shorter stanzas of early monody, e.g. Alcm. fr. 49; cf. S. *Ph.*1195–2001, *OC.*228–295; Ar. *Pax.*114–119; Sen. *Oedip.*449–465, *Phaedr.*761–763, *Herc. Oet.*1947–1950. Cf. D.H. *Comp.*19.

[194] The fact that many of the examples are subject to doubt and often heavily supplemented is acknowledged.

[195] Cf. fr. 3.1 διὰ] κ̣[ύ]μαθ' ἁλὸς.

[196] Cf. fr. 3.2 το θ]ε̣ῶν;̣ fr. 7.15 μετέρω[ν; 24 -οπίσω.

[197] Cf. fr. 3.3 τ]όθι Ἑσπρίδες; fr. 7.25 μ]ὴ̣ τοῦτο φ[ί]λ̣ον; fr. 9.7 π̣είθου, τέκνον.

[198] E.g. Ibykos fr. 6 *PMG*.

[199] Halporn et al. 1963.18.

[200] There is only one exception to this is the postpositive τιν at fr. 6.5.

interchange between period and stanza endings:[201] this is complemented by the variance of the 'rising and falling' on the line beginnings in the anti/strophe. The trading off within and between the verses is subtle enough not to disrupt the overall dignity and Homeric feel, with its stanzas 'moving in a series of grand sweeps.'[202] If there had been some division in the choros during its performance, the triadic format of the song would have facilitated this, with perhaps a merger of the singers at the start of the epode.

IX. *The Papyri*

Very little can be said of the excavation that yielded the papyri fragments of the *Geryoneis*, P.Oxy. 2617. The dig was carried out in the decade 1897–1907 under the supervision of Grenfell and Hunt in the ancient rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus.[203] These fragments were part of a mass papyri recovery; no account of where, or in what, they were found has ever been given.

On the basis of the distinctive handwriting Lobel collected sixty-six fragments; these were published by him in P.Oxy. 2617. It is possible that the fragments originally belonged to more than one poem, or even more than one roll. The fragments consist of pieces ranging from sections as large as twenty-seven lines to tiny scraps with one or two characters that are often barely discernible. Despite many of the fragments being badly decayed, they show a script that is beautiful with remarkable definition. The standard of calligraphy and the fact that the script is written on the recto indicates the manuscript was a fully professional copy. There is nothing written on the verso. There is no way of knowing whether the copy was made at Oxyrhynchus or imported from outside.

The poem is written in columns, showing no gaps to indicate stanza breaks. The longest column is fr. 7 with twenty-seven line beginnings. Measuring from the top of its first line to the termination of the twenty-seventh there is a distance of seven inches. Preceding the first line of the column is a blank space that clearly indicates the beginning of a new column; counting down from this point are the remains of twenty-seven line beginnings. The bottom of the twenty-seventh line is damaged and

[201] Cf. Lidov 1974.
[202] Haslam 1974.17.
[203] An account of the dig is given by Turner in James 1982.161–178.

incomplete; consequently, it can only be inferred that the columns were at least twenty-seven lines long. There is only one fragment (fr. 12 col. i, ii) showing two parallel columns. The width of complete lines on the stanza is varied, the longest being just under two and half inches, and the shortest an inch. All the fragments look to be written in one hand with very little variation in size and stroke. Some words/lines have been struck out, indicating that some errors took place during the copying of the poem e.g. fr. 13 col. i.3, fr. 22 col. ii.10.

Based on the evidence of the script, Lobel (1967.2) dated the papyrus as early 1st century CE. More recently a slightly earlier date has been put forward by Cavallo (2005.110, 127 n. 20). In his study of the historical development of similar hands, he argues that the 'epsilon-theta style'[204] on the papyrus suggests the second half of the 1st century BCE or the very beginning of the 1st century CE.

Lectional and other signs are used selectively on the papyrus. Their presence suggests that the copy was a scholarly edition. These signs, although not widely used in this period, were a feature of the texts used by Alexandrian editors. Their main function was to facilitate the reading of an undivided flow of letters. Such aids were more common in poetry than prose, particularly in poetic texts written in an archaic and un-Attic language.

According to the metrist Hephaestion,[205] in triadic poems the paragraphos marked the end of the strophe and antistrophe, and the coronis showed the end of the triad. By the time of P.Oxy. 2617 this system was well established (cf. Stesich.222A). Evidence of the paragraphos is clearly seen in P.Oxy. 2617, marking both the close of the strophe (e.g. fr. 7.21) and the antistrophe (e.g. fr. 12 col. ii.13). There is only one possible example of any punctuation indicating the conclusion of the triad; this appears at fr. 7.12, where in the left-hand margin there is a small squiggle, written seemingly by a different hand. If the reconstruction of the fragment is accepted this notional coronis would mark the end of the triad. This seems to be the most obvious reading for the sign. It has, however, in recent years been interpreted as a marginal note, e.g. as a monogram of χϱ (McNamee 2007.373). Elsewhere other signs of punctuation are visible on the papyrus: there is at least one example of a forked paragraphos used by the annotator(s) to mark the end of some annotation

[204] Where the cross bar of the epsilon and the theta is reduced to a small tick or dot.
[205] Pp. 73–74 Consbruch.

(fr. 12 col. ii.2): more common are the middle stops to indicate a clause (e.g. fr. 12 col. ii.6) or the end of a sentence (fr. 12 col. ii.7).

Accents appear with some frequency, the acute (e.g. fr. 2.2), grave (e.g. fr. 12 col. ii.10) and circumflex (e.g. fr. 9.12), so too do both rough (e.g. fr. 3.(a).3) and smooth (e.g. fr. 7.8) breathings (taking the archaic half-H form), also long (e.g. fr. 12 col. ii.10) and short (e.g. fr. 2.2) marks, apostrophe (e.g. fr. 12 col. i.16) and hyphen (fr. 12 col. ii.14). Some of the accents are purely philological, i.e. indicating a Doric dialect, for example paroxytone accents on forms that would be proparoxytone in the Attic dialect, e.g. fr. 2.2 ἐχοίσα. The grave is used as a negative accent, implying that the accented syllable is yet to come, e.g. fr. 6.2 ἀλὰϲ. This pheonomenon was quite common in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Hyphens are placed over some words to indicate that they are compounds, e.g. fr. 12 col. ii.14. At fr. 16.col. ii.6 there is a long horizontal stroke under the verse that seems to be acting as a ὕφ’ ἕν (‘hyphen’), indicating to the reader that the sequence of letters belongs to the same word and should not be divided. Similarly, the circumflex is used to discriminate the Doric long alpha, e.g. fr. 12 col. ii.4.

Lectional signs are sometimes written where the reader, or perhaps the diorthotes, felt it helpful to distinguish homographs (e.g. fr. 10.4 ὄν poetic adjective, not relative pronoun), dialect forms (e.g. fr. 6.5 τῒν Doric dative) and clarifying word divisions, (e.g. fr. 12 col. ii.10 δὶαδὰντικρῡσχέθενοὶ[στος, διά not Δία, poetic ἀντικρύ, then poetic σχέθεν). Another feature is the antisigma in the left-hand margin. On at least one occasion it appears to be referring to some textual problem or variant reading (e.g. fr. 9.7). Lobel (1967.2) believed that the majority of the lectional signs were written by the primary scribe, and that the ‘cursive marginalia’ were entered by at least two different later hands. Partly because the text is so badly perserved the marginalia are not particularly illuminating.[206] Mostly there are textual notes, such as ἕξω (fr. 21 col. i.3, fr. 28.2) which normally refers to material added on the back (‘outside’) of the roll, but nothing is visible on the surviving fragments. Cf. fr. 24.3. Others included are some glosses fr. 9.3, fr. 22.2; a quotation cited by the second hand as a parallel source (fr. 12 col. ii.2). Another feature seemingly added by a later hand is the presense of a dicolon (fr. 12 col. ii.15). This sign often indicates a change of speaker in drama or dialogue: here is looks just to be a word divider distinguishing

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206 For a wider and more general discussion of marginalia vid. McNamee 2007.

the Doric ὅκα. One final point of curiosity is at fr. 6.2 where a sigma has been inserted by a different hand, viz. ἀλὰ^{c}. It is not clear why this has been written: one possible explanation is that ancient grammarians argued about the syllable division in words like ἀλαστο-, some dividing before the sigma and others after. It is possible that the first hand wrote ἀλα|στο- and another changed it to ἀλα^{c}|τα and by doing so deleted in turn the sigma of the following line.

Before considering the question of ascription it is important to emphasise two basic facts: (i) the denominator that unites all sixty-six fragments is the handwriting. This means that the selection that later came to be P.Oxy. 2617 was chosen by Lobel solely on the basis that each fragment bore the same distinctive handwriting; (ii) having considered this first point it is quite possible that the fragments collected in P.Oxy. 2617 are the remains of more than one poem. The author of these fragments is unknown. There is no quotation from any later writers to confirm any of these pieces. This is, of course, a problem when one comes to attributing the fragments to an author.

On a more optimistic note, judging from the better surviving pieces the metre, the stanza, structure and language look to be that of choral composition(s). Another feature is the frequent references to Herakles. Putting these two together suggests a choral song about Herakles: Stesichoros seems an obvious choice. It is known that he devoted at least four songs to the hero;[207] the metre used in his compositions was predominantly dactylic; he adopted many epic formulae, and was attested to be the inventor of the epode.[208] With the spread of colonization and the inauguration of new cities in the West, Herakles was a popular figure with choral poets in the archaic period, and so Ibykos is another possibility.[209] In fact the language, style and metre of some of Ibykos's songs are so similar to those of Stesichoros that it is sometimes (e.g. P.Oxy.2735) difficult to attribute fragments to the correct author.[210] Ibykos often mentions Herakles (in the killings of the Molionids Athen.2.57f–58a), as the slayer of Geryon (P.Oxy.2735), also Ibykos says Hephaistos sent up baths of hot water as a gift to Herakles.[211] Fortunately there are clear references to Geryon in some of the fragments, and enough language and metre to

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207 Vid. p. x.
208 *Suid.* Σ 1095.
209 Vid. D'Agostino 1995.8.
210 Vid. Cingano 1990.189–224.
211 Σ Ar. *Nub.*1051.

suggest Stesichoros. His *Geryoneis* is well attested[212] and so must be the obvious choice. It must be remembered however that the Geryon myth was a very popular one with vase painters of the 6th century and probably also with poets of the period. It seems likely, then, that there was more than one version of the *Geryoneis* in circulation at this time. No other versions have been unearthed yet; consequently it is an acceptable hypothesis at this point that the present fragments are from the *Geryoneis* of Stesichoros.

Yet having stated this some caution must be exercised. As already mentioned there is a distinct possibility that the fragments contain more than one song. The likelihood of this can be supported by at least one piece, fr. 3, where there is a clear mention of the Hesperides. Apart from the fact that these goddesses, like Geryon, are located in the far West, there is no obvious reason why they should be included in the *Geryoneis*.[213] It could be just an allusion to them (cf. Athen.11.100, 499); such a reference could exist in any song about Herakles. Another option is that Stesichoros devoted a poem to the hero's journey to the Hesperides. Some of the other fragments probably do come from the *Geryoneis*. For example, a handful merely allude to Herakles, mostly in terms of weaponry, fr. 14 col. ii.2 ἰο]δόκα; fr. 12 col. ii.10 οἰ[σ]ṭὸς; fr. 4.3 ῥ̣όπαλον. There is one reference to Herakles's patron, γλαυκ]ῶ̣πις Ἀθάνα. Cf. Herakles 2464. These of course could refer to any of the hero's labours. At least two of the fragments suggest other heroes: at fr. 9.12 there is a possible reference to θησε[ύς, also at fr. 17.2 to Τελ]α̣μ̣ώνιον, viz. Aias or Teukros. Choral lyric is full of epic narrative, and so these two characters could quite easily be traces from some lost song(s) by Stesichoros or Ibykos.

The question arises then: which fragments come from Stesichoros's *Geryoneis*? None can be ascribed with any certainty. The biggest and main fragment of the yield is fr. 12 col. i. and ii: this probably does. Everything hangs on this piece together with fr. 6 where Geryon is clearly mentioned, viz. Γ]α̣ρυόνα.[214] In fr. 12 some sort of battle is taking place, this is clear from the frequent description of armour and weaponry, e.g. col. i.12 ἔ]χ̣ε̣ν̣ ἀ̣σπίδα, col. ii.13 θώρακά τε καὶ βροτό̣ε̣ντ̣[, col. ii.10 οἰ[σ]ṭὸ̣ς. What tie this anonymous fragment to the *Geryoneis* are the references to the mon-

[212] E.g. Σ A.R.1.211.

[213] However, there is some indirect mythological connection. Apollodoros (2.5.11) says Erytheia was one of the Hesperides.

[214] One might add fr. 26 to this.

ster Geryon: (i) lines 14–15 of col. ii. although partially reconstructed seem very likely, ἀπέκλινε δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐχένα Γ̣α̣ρ̣[υόνας|ἐπικάρσιον. As well as the obvious mention of the monster's name, the last word in the phrase is noteworthy. It is a common motif in archaic visual sources (e.g. *LIMC* Herakles 2467) for one of the monster's heads/bodies to be wounded and hanging (normally backwards) 'at an angle' as Geryon continues to battle with Herakles. This unusual motif looks to be corresponding with lines 14–15. Another strange feature on almost all the surviving vase paintings of the archaic period is the presentation of Geryon in hoplite armour (e.g. *LIMC* Herakles 2464). If the subject of col. ii. is the same as col. i. Geryon here too is wearing a ἱπ]πόκομος τρυφάλεἰ· With such correspondence it appears that at least this fragment comes from the *Geryoneis*. There are some others that look encouraging. In frr. 5 and 7 mention is made of Geryon's father, Chrysaor: these references are somewhat damaged, but they look certain considering their context. In fr. 7 there is also reference to (Geryon's) cattle, line 27, περὶ βουσὶν ἐμαῖς. Other minor fragments allude only to Herakles, e.g. frr. 13, 4 and so could potentially belong to any song about the hero. A few are too general and could fit any epic narrative, e.g. frr. 2, 8, 9, 10, 16. There are some fragments which seem doubtful. It is not impossible that they were part of the *Geryoneis* (hence their inclusion in the commentary); they seem just to point to other themes and songs, e.g. frr. 3, 17. Finally, the rest of the fragments are so tiny it is impossible to attribute them to any particular song.

X. *The* Terminus ad Quem *of Physical Texts for the* Geryoneis

From the surviving papyri fragments and book quotations of the *Geryoneis* there is no evidence for the existence of the poem after about 2nd/3rd century CE. Judging from the script on the papyrus P.Oxy. 2617 its date can be estimated as around 1st century.[215] Three excerpts that are believed to be from the poem have been preserved by later authors. The first (*Gery.* fr. 14) is that of Strabo, who was active around the turn of the millennium; he quotes three lines of the poem which are more or less metrically sound, and also retain their Doric forms. It is reasonably safe to assume that the passage preserved by Strabo is authentic and that he knew more than these three lines. The other two book quotations come

[215] Vid. p. 57.

from Athenaios (*Gery*. fr. 1, 16) who seemed to enjoy citing Stesichoros: as well as the *Geryoneis* he quotes Stesichoros's *Helen* twice (fr. 187, 188) and his *Boar-Hunters* (fr. 221). By far the lengthiest of these is *Gery*. fr. 1's almost complete anti/strophe; *Gery*. fr. 15 is four lines of a similar stanza. Despite some corruption Athenaios looks to be accurately reproducing the poem, in respect of both metre and dialect. Moreover, the fact that Athenaios is able to quote such extracts from the *Geryoneis* is in itself a good indication of authenticity. This ability is not found in any later writers and so renders him the best source outside the fragments themselves, for Stesichorean poetry.

It is possible that texts for the *Geryoneis* were in existence in the 6th century BCE. It was not uncommon for texts to be recorded on papyri. Although the transmission of epic verse by rhapsodes and professional reciters was still oral, during the 6th century many of these compositions began to be written down: presumably for purposes of preservation. Pfeiffer believes that as early as the 6th century the Attic text of Homer became an authoritative one (1968.109). At this point these writings were not subject to any commercialism. Later in the 5th century books were freely available in the market place (cf. Pl. *Phd*.97b), and there is even evidence that tragedies performed in the theatre of Dionysos were later available as books (vid. Ar. *Ranae* 52). There is nothing immediately objectionable to the idea that Stesichoros's works were written down and later sold as souvenirs after some performance, or indeed that some text was in circulation before its performance for the benefit of the choros. This certainly seems feasible: it would be a great expedient for singers learning lengthy choral works and practising elaborate choreography. The text perhaps included some very basic musical notion.

Book quotations later than Athenaios are few and meagre. There is a considerable gap of roughly two hundred years to the 5th century Stobaeus, who records two single lines of Stesichorean verse in his *Anthology*;[216] neither of these is assigned to known poems. The 12th century commentator on the *Iliad*, Eustathius (*Il*.9.43), cites a single line. The absence of any sizeable citation after Athenaios suggests that at some point, possibly as early as the 3rd century CE, manuscripts began to disappear.

[216] Stob.4.56.15; 4.58.5.

XI. *Order of Fragments*

Having considered the state of the fragments it seems now a hopeless task to attempt putting them all into some kind of order. By accepting that a number of the larger fragments probably do come from the *Geryoneis* some sort of order might be achieved. It should be remembered however that such a sequence can at best be described as tentative.

If Page's reconsruction[217] is to be disregarded, what other means can be used to recover the sequence of the *Geryoneis*? Regarding the Geryon myth itself, Apollodoros's account is the fullest that survives, and so offers a good starting-place for the story. This was recognised and implemented by Page in his reconstruction (1973.144–146), although he did not attempt to discuss the relationship between Stesichoros's version of the myth and Apollodoros.[218] It seems that the relationship between Apollodoros's version and those of the 6th century BCE is, due to poor sources for the labour in the Archaic and Classical period, almost impossible to establish. Possibly Stesichoros left some influence on later writers (cf. P.Oxy. 2506 fr. 26 col. ii). From the remaining fragments it is quite obvious that Stesichoros's version was different from that of Apollodoros: Stesichoros's appears to be a dramatisation of the myth, and Apollodoros's merely a synopsis. The poem's sequence is not greatly aided by contemporary visual sources.[219] One has to concede that there is no clear overall order to be discerned from the fragments themselves,[220] and so Apollodoros's version is the best account that can be used as a template.

Apollodoros's version reads (2.5.10):

> In respect of the 10th labour, he [Herakles] was ordered to bring the kine of Geryon from Erytheia. Erytheia was an island lying near to Okeanos, which is now called Gadeira. Geryon, son of Chrysaor and Kallirrhoe, daughter of Okeanos, inhabited this island. He had the body of three men grown together, and joined into one at the waist, these were divided into three from the flanks and thighs. He had red kine, of which Eurytion was the herdsman, Orthos was the guard-dog, a twin-headed hound, begotten by Typhon on Echidna. And so he [Herakles] journeying through Europe in quest of the cattle of Geryon and destroying many wild beasts,

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217 Vid. pp. 31–36.

218 He merely says (1973.144) 'Mr Barrett has given a good reason to believe that it [Apollodoros's account] reflects the *Geryoneis* of Stesichorus.

219 Vid. pp. 9–19.

220 Cf. Page 1973.

> set foot in Libya, proceeding to the Tartessos and erecting [as] tokens, two pillars constructed in opposing rows over the boundaries of Europe and Libya. But being heated by Helios on his journey, he bent his bow at the god. And he [Helios] marvelled at his boldness and gave him a golden cup, in which he crossed Okeanos. Arriving at Erytheia he camped on Mount Abas. But the hound, perceiving him, rushed towards him; but he [Herakles] smote this beast with a club and killed the herdsman, Eurytion, [when] helping the hound. Menoites, pasturing the kine of Hades there, reported what happened to Geryon. And he [Geryon] checking Herakles beside the river Anthemos [as] he was leading off the herd, joined battle with him and he [Geryon] died being shot. And Herakles, having put the herd into the cup, sailed across to the Tartessos, and returned the cup to Helios.

Parts in this passage correspond with some of the fragments/book quotations, e.g., 'And he [Helios] marvelled at his boldness and gave him a golden cup, in which he crossed Okeanos' is comparable to *Gery.* fr. 1.2–3 'he went down into the golden cup, so that he could cross over Okeanos'. Following the sequence set out in Apollodoros, fr. 1 of the *Geryoneis* came quite early in the song where Herakles receives the cup from Helios. Athenaios quotes this passage as coming from the *Geryoneis* and there appears no reason to doubt its authenticity. As already stated, none of the papyri fragments can be authenticated. The combat scene in fr. 12. col. i and ii looks genuine enough. This showdown was probably climactic and took place at some later stage in the song. In fr. 6 someone is beseeching Geryon not to do battle with Herakles, possibly his mother. If Geryon dies in fr. 12 or shortly after, fr. 6 obviously must come before. Probably authentic too are frr. 5 and 7. Both indicate direct speech, and so come before Geryon and company all die. Their placement is difficult. Certainly, before fr. 12 and after fr. 1, between which is quite a gap in the scheme of events and so not much of a guide. All one can do really is guess: perhaps in fr. 5 Menoites addresses Geryon before the speech of Kallirrhoe in fr. 6. Fr. 7 could be some preamble from Geryon as he meets Herakles for the first time. Fr. 8 also contains a vocative and so is placed after fr. 7. This is out of convenience. Frankly it could belong to one of many positions.

With some of the smaller fragments their placement can only be tentative. Line 1 of fr. 2 reads 'swift-flying', which probably refers to the horses pulling Helios's car and so is positioned early in the song. Fr. 3, if it comes from the *Geryoneis*, may have some connection with the crossing to Erytheia. In fr. 4 a ῥόπαλον is mentioned. This surely

belongs to Herakles, either in battle or for driving cattle. The latter would indicate that the hero now has possession of Geryon's herd, thus placing the fragment in a pre-battle position. Fr. 10 is the fragment describing the council of the gods. This perhaps closely precedes the clash of the two combatants. In fr. 22 there are many references to 'cries' and 'pain': these might relate to the point in the battle where Herakles finally engages Geryon face to face. If fr. 12 describes the slaying the first of Geryon's three heads, fr. 13 may be some subsequent reference to a second head. The fragment is tiny and so its position is speculative. Regarding the post-battle fragments, fr. 14 is a geographical reference. This descriptive passage has no obvious connection with the battle scene itself; consequently position in the song is dubious. It merely refers to where Geryon's herdsman (presumably Eurytion) was born. No mention is given to the herdsman himself. Cf. fr. 23.3. In Page's edition the fragment is placed early in the sequence as it refers to the birthplace of Eurytion. This is worthy of consideration, however, Stesichoros can still refer to the herdsman after he is dead. Alternatively it might be considered more effective for dramatic purposes to refer to Eurytion's birthplace as the hero is about to kill him. So it does not necessarily follow that the fragment should have a early position. Frr. 15 and 16 could be related: οἶνον at fr. 16.5 might easily be associated with the mighty 'bowl-cup' described in fr. 15. This late episode, which is not really connected with Geryon, takes place once Herakles and the cattle are on their way back to Tiryns.

All this is of course conjectural. After all, it is not even certain that these fragments are all from the same poem. Nevertheless the proposed sequence seems an acceptable hypothesis. There is some room for a re-shuffle of some of the smaller fragments, but the order of the more substantial pieces on the whole seems plausible.

STESICHOROS'S GERYONEIS

NOTE ON THE TEXT

This edition of the text is based upon my own reading of the papyri fragments that are now housed in the Sackler Library in Oxford. The text given here frequently diverges from those of Page and Davies; the reasons for doing so are explained when appropriate in the commentary. An obvious inevitability of a divergent text is the need for a new apparatus: the apparatus subsequent to each fragment is my own. Stanza lines are numbered: this enumeration has been included as an aid for the reader and obviously has no reflection of any lection on the papyrus. Also included in the text are the lemmata: their omission would lead to obscurity. The numbering system and order of fragments in this edition are my own.

The editorial symbols used in the text and apparatus are based on the Leiden system. The metrical symbols follow convention. A key is provided to aid the reader:

ạ	the subscript denotes that there are uncertain papyrus indications of the letter
.	indicates an unreadable letter
⟨ ⟩	denote letters absent on the papyrus but supplied by the editor
[ ]	denote a lacuna
[.]	show that a letter is missing
~ 10	a space of 10 letters is estimated
< 10	a space of 10 letters or less is estimated
~?	identifies a lacuna(e) of uncertain size
Σ	an entry by the scholiast
-	long syllable
˘	short syllable
⏖	contractible biceps
|	word end
||	period end
|||	stanza end (All other metrical symbols are included and explained in the commentary).

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TEXT

Fr. 1.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος ἐπὶ ποτηρίου διεκομίζετο ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν Στησίχορος μὲν οὕτως φησίν·

τᾶμος δ᾽ Ὑπεριονίδα ⟨ἶ⟩ς
δέπας ἐσκατέβα ⟨παγ⟩χρύσεον ὄ-
φ ̓ρα δι᾽ Ὠκεανοῖο περάσας
ἀφίκηθ᾽ ἱαρᾶς ποτὶ βένθεα νυ-
κτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς
ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδίαν τ᾽ ἄλοχον
πάιδάς τε φίλους,
ὁ δ᾽ ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα δάφ ̓ναισι κατά-
σκιον ὦκα ποσὶν πάϊς Διὸς ἐΰς.

that Helios too in a cup was brought across to his setting, Stesichoros says thus: And then, the strong child of Hyperion descended into the cup of pure gold so that he might cross Okeanos and arrive at the depths of holy, black night and his mother and wedded wife and dear children; and the noble son of Zeus swiftly went on foot into the grove, shady with laurels.

S. 17. Athen.11.469e (3. 32 Kaibel).
1 ἅλιος codd. Suchfort et al., ἅλιον Garrod, ἀέλιος Schweighaeuser et al., τᾶμος Barrett[1] 12, ἆμος Kaibel, Ahrens ἅλοις tuetur et deinde δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον scripsit; Ὑπεριονίδας codd. fere omnes, Ὑπεριονίδα ⟨ἶ⟩ς West, Ὑπεριονίδας δ⟨έ⟩ Pardini 62, Ὑπεριονίδας ⟨αὖ⟩ Page[2], Ὑπεριονίδας ⟨μὲν⟩ Barrett[1]. **1–2** compositio incerta est sed credibilis. **2** -βαινε codd. Suchfort et al., -βαινε⟨ν⟩ Bergk et al., -βα ⟨παγ⟩χρύσεον West, iam Führer[2] 7, -βαιν᾽ ἐ⟨ς⟩ Pardini 63. **3** δι᾽: δ᾽ codd. emend. Suchfort; περάσας codd., περάσα⟨ι⟩ς Page[2] et al. **4** ἀφίκηθ᾽ codd., Suchfort et al., ἀφίκοιθ᾽ Blomfield et al.; inter ἀφίκοιθ᾽ et ἱερᾶς Blomfield addit εἰς κλισίας. ἱαρᾶς: ἱερᾶς codd. emend. Page[2] 12. **4–5** διὰ βένθεα Vürtheim possis, 18. **5** ἐρεμνά Wilamowitz. **6** ποτὶ seclusit Suchfort, τ᾽, δ᾽ B. **7** παῖδάς codd., παῖδάς τε φίλους (ὅυς) legit Suchfort, παίδας Page et al., πάιδάς Smyth, Hiller-Crusius. **8** (ἄλλ᾽) ὁ δ᾽ ἐς … legit Suchfort; δάφναισι, δάφναισοι B. **8–9** κατάσκιον codd., κατασκιό⟨ε⟩ν Barrett[1], κατασκι⟨ά⟩ον aut κατασκι⟨άρ⟩ον Page[2], κατάσκιον ⟨ἄψ⟩ aut ⟨δ᾽ αὖ⟩ Führer[2] 8. **9** -σκιον ποσὶν παῖς Διὸς codd.; ποσὶ Suchfort, ποσσὶ Bergk; πάϊς Schneidewin; ποσσὶ παῖς Διός Hermann, ποσὶν πάϊς Διός Kleine, ποσὶν παῖς Διός Führer[2] 8, ποσὶ παῖς Διός ⟨Ἡρακλέης⟩ vel adiect. Page[2]; ὦκα ποσὶν πάϊς Διὸς ἐΰς suppl. Curtis; Διὸς παῖς proponit Blomfield.

Fr. 2.

(a)

]ν μεν̣[

(b)

] .ε̣νες, ὠκυπέτ̣α̣[
]ν̣ ἐχοίσαι.
]ε̣π[.]ά̣ξαν ἐπ[ὶ] χθόν̣α̣·
]άπε ἁ κεφαλὰ χαρ̣[
] .σω̣α . [.]ε . . . [

… swift-winged … having … on the earth … head …

S. 21. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 1.
intervallum inter (a) et (b) nescitur.
2]όισ̣ᾶι. **3**]άξαν vix videtur, sed potest; -να̣·
1 καὶ τὰ]ν Lerza[1] 86. ν̣[: vel fors. μ.] . ε̣νες: ante ε̣ est punctum atramenti, sed pler. legunt] .ρ̣ο̣νες (Davies et al.), itaque [δολιό]φρ̣ο̣νες Lazzeri[1] 93, τοῖ]ν μὲν̣ [δαμασί]φρ̣ο̣νες Irvine 45, et δαί]μο̣νες ὠκυπέτα[Lerza[1] 86; τ̣α̣[: hae litterae calamitosae sunt, interim fere indubitatae. Lobel 3 legit κυπετα[et parat -πέτα[ι veri sim. Possis ὠκύ tamquam simplex adpositum. **2** ῥά γε πικρὸν ὄλεθρ]ον ἐχοίσαι Lerza[1] 86; τόκα Μοῖραι πότμ]ον Lazzeri[1] 93; ῥέπον αἶψα τάλαντ]ον Irvine 45. **3**]π̣[: hoc aut duo crura separatarum litterarum; (κατ-)] ἐπ[λ]άξαν vel ἐπ[τ]άξαν vel ἐπ[ι]άξαν praebet Lobel 3; πίπτοντ' ἀμφ]επ[ι]άξαν Lazzeri[1] 93; Γαρυόνα καὶ] ἐπ[λ]άξαν Irvine 45; ἐπ[ὶ] sc. Lobel 3. **4** inter ε et η est spatium cum puncto sepiae. ἀπέ[φ]η κεφαλὰ χαρ[οπά Ferrari[2] 192 legit, κεφαλὰ χαρ[ί—| εσσα] Lazzeri[2] 192. **5** ω̣ pars supera de littera evidenter videtur. post]ε vel δ vel α, deinde ε aut ο, fortasse θ.]ωσωα . [.]ε . . . Lobel legit,]ωσω ἄγ[γ]ελ̣ο̣ν̣ Ferrari[1] 42.

Fr. 3.

(a) (b)

ἐπὶ] κ̣[ύμ]αθ’ ἁλὸς [βαθέ]α̣ς̣ ἀφίκον- [
το θ]ε̣ῶν περικαλλέ[α] ̣σον ·[
τ]όθι Ἑσπερίδες π[αγχρ]ύ̣σεα δώ- [
ματ’] ἔ̣χ̣οντι· [ ] [
] ̣[̣]ασσ̣ ̣ ̣[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣]και [
] ̣λύκ ̣[
]λατ[

They arrived over the waves of the deep brine to the beautiful … of the gods, there the Hesperides have their golden homes.

S. 8. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 6 (a) + (b).
configuratio de (a) cum (b) dubia est.
3 ἐσπ vix videtur, δώ, 4 οντι·1–4 suppl. Lobel 8. Col. a **1** ἐπὶ] Barrett[1], διά] Page, κατά] Lobel, Snell; κ̣[: vix videtur. **2**]ε̣ vel ς̣. **4**] ἔ̣χ̣: residua vestigia atramenti consentanea sunt cum iis litteris. **6** κ]α̣λύκω̣[ν Barrett[1] legit, sed λυκ[όφω- Curtis possis. Col. b **1** βα̣θ̣έ̣α̣ς̣ Davies et al. legunt, πολιᾶς dub. Lobel; ἀφ’ ῖκον Curtis possis. **2** ν]ᾶσον Davies et al. legunt. Haec typographia fallax est: pro ο confusa et circularis littera est, fortasse ϑ aut ο; pro hac legit]¯/ vel de γ vel τ; ·[: pars litterae aut signi. **3**]ύ̣: hoc indistinctum atramentum est.

Fr. 4.

]. δε.μα[
]ὁ δὲ δεύτε[ρο
]ῥόπαλον κα[

And he ... second ... the club ...

S. 16. P.Oxy.2617 fr. 31.
1 pro μ reliquus pes erectae litterae est, fortasse ρ, ita possis δέρμα Curtis. 2 δεύτε[ρο Lobel 20, vel solum δεῦτε. 3 α[: vel λ.

Fr. 5.

[ ]..[ ]ω[ἀλ-
γινόεντος·
ἀλλ' ὦ φίλε ματ[έρα Καλλιρόαν
καὶ ἀρηίφιλο[ν
Χρ[υσά]ορα σ. [

Grievous ...; but dear, mother [Kallirrhoe] and Chrysaor, beloved by Ares.

S. 10. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 25.
2 τος·.
1]ω[vix videtur; [ἀλ Lobel 19. 3 τ[: vel ζ; [έρα Καλλιρόαν Barrett[1] 7. 4 ο[: vel ε, ο[ν Barrett[1] 7. 5 ρ[: haec littera paene absens est;]ο: vel ε; ρασ: vel ρεσ, etiam ρελ; Χρ[υσά]ορα Barrett[1] 7: huius lectio admodum optimistica est.

Fr. 6.

(a) (b)

]μ̣.[

]ε̣γὼγ̣ [μελέ]α καὶ ἀλασ-[
τοτόκος κ]αὶ ἄλ̣[ασ]τ̣α̣ π̣α̣θοῖσα·
ἀλλά σε Γ]αρυόνα γων[]άζομα[ι,
αἴ ποκ' ἐμό]ν τιν μαζ[ὸν] ε̣[πέσχεθον
]ω̣μον γ̣[
] [
τόκα ματρὶ] φίλαι γανυθ̣[είς ἦς θυ-
μὸς ἐν εὐφρ]οσύναις̣[
ὣς φαῖσα θυώ]δ̣εα πέπ ̇λ̣[ον
]. [ ]κλυ [
]ρευτ̣ων·
]γ̣ον ελ[

'I, [miserable], wretched in the child I bore, my suffering is unbearable; [but] I supplicate [you] Geryon, [if I ever offered you] my breast ... joyous to (your) dear [mother at that time when her heart was in] glad thoughts'. [And so saying this], her fragrant robe ...

S. 13. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 11.
conjunctio de (a) cum (b) probabilis videtur.
2 ὰλὰc. **3** ά̣λ[, σα· vix videtur. **5** τἶν. **8** γανὺ. **12** ων·.
1]μ̣: sequens hoc vel ω vel fortasse duae litterae. **2** ὦ τέκνον] Castellaneta 38;] . . ων: ante ω probabiliter γ, ante hoc parvolum punctum est;]ἐ̣γ̣ὼν καὶ [μελέ]α praebet Barrett[1] 9; ὰλὰ[c] papyrus legit. **3** σ] .: solum gutta atramenti videtur, ἄλ̣[ασ]τ̣α̣ Barrett[1] 9 (iam Lobel);]θοῖσα: ante theta vel α vel λ. **4** νῦν δέ σε Γ] Barrett[1] 9. vel ἀλλά σε Γ] Page[4] 9, sed dubie πολλά σε] Castellaneta 38, τοῦτο σε] Austin ap. Castellaneta 38: ←] spatium nescit; Γ]αρυόνα Lobel. **5** μαζ[ὸν] Lobel suppl.,]ἐ̣[: lectio huius dubia est, tamen]ἐ̣[πέσχον Lobel suppl., et]ἐ̣[πέσχεθον Barrett[1] 9. **6**]γ̣ vel π. **8** παρὰ ματρὶ] φίλαι Barrett[1] 9, γανυθ̣[- aut γανυε̣[-: γανυθ̣[είς Lobel, γανυθ̣[έντα Barrett[3] 17. **9** εὔφ]ρ̣οσ- Barrett[1] 9, **10** ὣς φαῖσα Führer[2] 9, θυώ]δεα Barrett[1] 9; πέπ̇λ̣[ον Führer[2] 9, πέπ̇λ̣[: λ̇ probabilior est sed possis α. **11** [~ 2], κλῦθ̣ι̣ δ̣έ̣ [μου Lerza[3] 23.

Fr. 7.

χηρσὶν δ̣[τὸν
δ' ἀπαμ[ειβόμενος
ποτέφα̣[φώς Γαρυόνας, τέκος ἀ-
θανάτοιο̣[καὶ ἱροῦ Χρυσάορος·
μή μοι θά[νατον προφέρων κρυόεν-
τα δεδίσκ[ε
μηδέ με λ[
αἰ μὲν γὰ[ρ
μαι καὶ ἀγή̣[ραος
ἐν Ὀλύμπ[ωι,
κρέσσον[
λεγχέα δ̣[
καὶ τ[
κερα[ϊζομένας ἐπιδῆν βόας ἀ-
μετέρω[ν ἀπόνοσφιν ἐπαύλων·
αἰ δ' ὦ φι̣[λε χρὴ στυγερόν μ' ἐπὶ γῆ-
ρας [ἵκ]ε̣σ̣θαι̣,
ζώ[ει]ν̣ τ' ἐν̣ ε̣[παμερίοις ἀπάνευ-
θε [θε]ῶ̣ν μακάρω[ν,
νῦν μοι π̣ο̣λ̣ὺ̣ κ̣ά̣[λλιόν ἐστι παθῆν
ὅ τι μόρσιμ[ον ἢ θάνατον προφυγῆν
καὶ ὀνείδε[α παισὶ φίλοισι
καὶ παντὶ γέ[νει καταχευέμεν ἐξ-
ο̣πίσω Χρυσ[]ά̣ο[..].όκ̣[
μ]ὴ̣ τοῦτο φ[ί]λ̣ον μακά̣[ρε]σσι θε[ο]ῖ-
σι γ]ε̣νοιτο
....΄].[.].κε[..].[.]περὶ βουσὶν ἐμαῖς
]
Ἡρα]κ̣λέος̣.[

… with his hands … Answering him, [the man Geryon, child] of deathless [and holy Chrysaor] said: 'do not [reproaching me with chilling death] frighten …, nor …; for if … and ageless … on Olympos, then it is better … reproaches … [to watch my cattle] being ravaged [and taken far from their stables]; but if, my friend, [I must] reach [hateful old age] and live among [short-lived men far from] the blessed gods, then it is much [better to suffer] that which is fated [than to flee from death and pour] shame [over my dear children] and all my race hereafter … Chrysaor … May this not be the wish of the blessed gods … regarding my herd' … Herakles.

S. 11. P.Oxy. 2617 frr. 13 (a) +14+15
3 ποτέφα. **6** δεδίσκ. **8** (ἀι) = αἰ. **12** χέᾰ. **27** . . ′/].
frr. 13 (a), 14, 15 coniungit Barrett[2].
2 [ειβόμενος Lobel. **3** φώς Γαρυόνας τέκος Curtis, κρατερὸς Χρυσάορος Barrett[1], ἀ-|Lobel. **4** καὶ ἱροῦ Χρυσάορος·, aut possis attenuate κραταιοῦ Χρυσάορος· Curtis, γόνος καὶ Καλλιρόας Barrett[1], [τε Καλλιρόας γενέθλα vel γενέτας Prest 70; sub ϑ paragraphus videtur. **5** ϑα[νατ- Lobel; ϑά[νατον ϑροέων κρυόεν-] Barrett[3] 28, προφέρων Page[2] 8. **6** δεδίσκ[: super ε incomprehensibile est; δεδίσκ[εο Lobel, [ἐ ἀγάνορα ϑυμόν Barrett[1]. **7** λ]άϑεσϑαι κέλὲ αἰδόος· Barrett[3] 29, λ]ίσσεο Page[4]. **8** Lobel legit αἰ μὲν τὰ[, possis αἰ μὲν γὰ[. **8–9** γὰ[ρ γένος ἀϑάνατος πέλο-|]μαι καὶ ἀγή[ραος ὥστε βίου πεδέχειν Page[2] 7, sed possis γά[ρ πέπον ἀϑάνατος τ' ἔσο-|]μαι καὶ ἀγή[ρως πὰρ μακάρεσσι ϑεοῖς Barrett[2] 7: hoc convenit metrice et potest. **9** .[: pars infera litterae erectae videtur, ἀγή[ραος Barrett[1] aut ἀγή[ρως Barrett[3] 31; η]: Page[2] legit, ἀγή[ραος ἀνέρα τόνδε φυγὼν Barrett[3] 29, ἤματα πάντα μένων Rozokoki 69. **11** κάκ' ἐ-|Lobel; [με καϑήμενον ἐνϑάδ' ἐ- Barrett[3] 29, [με λιπόντ' ὀπίσω Rozokoki 69. **11–12** Barrett[3] 29 legit ἐ-|λεγχέα. **12** in laeva margine text. schol. est:˙ᵘ˙, intra hoc ac scaevo * videtur; δ̣[έχϑαι ἔπεα Barrett[3] 29; [ῆριν ἐᾶν Rozokoki 69. **13** τ[οῦδ' ὑπαλεόμενον ἀλκὰν Barrett[3] 29. **14** in laeva margine ɔ videtur; [ΐζομένας ἐπιδῆν βόας Barrett[3] 29; ἅ-|Lobel. **16** φι̣[λε Lobel, sq. φι̣[λε, λοιπὸν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γῆ]|ρας ἵκ. suppl. West (γῆρας iam Barrett). **17**]ἐ̣: vix videtur. **18**] .: probabiliter ν; .[: ε aut ο, ἐ̣[παμερίοις Barrett[3] 33; ἐ̣[φαμερίοις ἀπάνευ]ϑε Barrett[1]. **19**]ῳ̣: quamvis calamitosum, rationaliter lectio correcta est. **20** ο̣λ̣ὺ̣ κ̣ά̣[: cuncta haec male adflicta sunt, κά[λλιόν Lobel; sq. κά[λλιόν ἐστι παϑῆν Page[2] 8; ἀμφιέπειν Barrett[3] 29. **21** μόρσιμ[ον Barrett[1], μόρσιμ[ον ἢ ϑάνατον προφυγῆν Führer[2] 8, [ον ἧι δυσκλεΐα Barrett[3] 29; sub ὅ paragraphus videtur. **22** ὀνείδε[α Snell, [α παισὶ φίλοισι Führer[2] 9, [' ἐμοί τε γένηται Barrett[3] 29. **23** γέ[νει Diggle 5; [νει παρ' ἀεισομένων Barrett[3] 29; ἐξ- Führer[1] 678. **24** Χρυσ[άο]ρο[ς υ]ἱ̣ό̣ν̣[Barrett[1] legit. **25** μ]ὴ̣, φ[ί]λ̣ον Lobel. **25–26** μ]ὴ τοῦτο φ[ί]λ̣ον μακά̣[ρε]σσι ϑε[ο]ῖσι γ]ἐ̣νοιτο Barrett[2] iugat. **26** γ]ἐ̣νοιτο Lobel. **27**] .[: cacumen circuli,] .κε[: ante κ absis dextra rotundae litterae videtur. **27–28** οὔ το]ι̣ [π]ο̣κ̣' ἐ[γὼ]ν̣ περὶ βουσὶν ἐμαῖς|ὑπαλύξω Ἄρεα Barrett[3] 29 aut Ἄρη Barrett[3] 37;]: < 4. **29** Ἡρακ]λέο̣ς Lobel.

Fr. 8.

]   [
]νβα.[
]ϰ̣ρατος.[
]α̣ τιμαν[
].ωντε.[
ποτὶ ἕ]σ̣περαν.[
]και παν.[
]   [
]ακουσο[
]   [
]δ̣ικοισιν[
Κρο]ν̣ιδ̣α βα̣[σιλεῦ

... strength ... honour ... towards evening ... and all ... just ... son of Kronos, king.

S. 18. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 21.
5 ρᾰν.
1 .[: aliquid rotundum videtur. 2 .[: infera pars cruris est. 3]α̣ hoc probabilissimum est. 4] .: vestigium humile atramenti modo supervivit; .[: solum punctum crassum videtur. 5]σ̣: vel fortasse ε, ποτὶ ἕ]σ̣περα Curtis, ἐκπ]ε̣πέραν[ται Haslam 20; π]ε̣πέραντ̣[αι Führer[1] 678. 6 .[: fortasse supera regula de τ. 10]δ̣: scilicet, ἀ]δ̣ίκοισιν[Barrett[1]. 11 Κρον]ίδ̣α βα̣[σιλεῦ suppl. Barrett[1]: nihil nisi credibile videtur.

Fr. 9.

] πεφ[
] ο̣ ̣αμ̣[ ]φα̣λαγμέ̣[
]πεν ἰ̇[δοῖσ]ά̣ τε νισόμ[ενον ποτέφα
]νίκα[ ] κράτος μ̣[
]στυγε̣[ ] ̣ ̣ ̣[
] [ ]γμα̣ τε[ ]γ̣· λεύκ[
] [ ]π̣είθευ, τέκ͡νον̣[
] σ’ ἀγ ̣[
] κατα[αἰ-
] γιοχό̣[ιο
] μεγα[
] θησε[
] ουκε]
] θανατ̣[
] [ ]ἀλλ’ ὑ̔π̣[
] ̣άντ[
]ἅς ἀπο̣[
]χεριδ̣[

… and [seeing him] coming she spake. Victory … power … hateful … ‘Obey, child … aegis … great … death … but … hand.’

S. 12. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 19 col. ii.
12 θησε͂[.
2 μ̣]: aut ν; [~3 fort. 4];]φ ̣: υ probabilissimum videtur, sic πε]φυλαγμε̣[Lobel, πε]φυλαγμε̣[ν- Führer[2] 9, πε]φυλαγμέ̣[νον Lerza[3] 22, πε]φυλαγμέ̣[νος Castellaneta 32; infra λαγ est marg. text. schol.: ο^{υηνε} ̣ ̣ ̣ **2–3** εἶ]|πεν Lerza[3] 22; **3** ἰ[δοῖσ]ά̣ τε νισόμ[ενον Barrett[1], νι[ν ὧκ]α̣ τε νισόμ[ενος Castellaneta 32; ποτέφα· Führer[2] 9; supra νισ est marg. text. schol. ει: sub πεν paragraphus videtur. **4** νίκα[ς τι] Barrett[2], νίκα [καὶ] West, νικᾶ[ι τὸ] κράτος Führer[2] 9 n. 79, possis νικᾶ[πᾶν] κράτος Curtis. **5** ε̣[: contemplando quae praedicta, credibilius multo est, στυγε̣[ρ- Barrett[2], στυγε̣[ρὸν γῆ̣ρ̣[ας;] ̣ ̣ ̣[: elementa litterarum vix videntur. **6**]γ: regula supera modo videtur. **7** in laeva margine ɔ videtur; Π πείθου legit. π̣: vix videtur, sed necessarium, π̣είθευ emendatio Barrett[1]; ν̣[: prima columna modo residua est. **9–10** [αἰ-]|γιοχό̣[ιο Lobel. ό̣[: scil., text. schol.:] ̣εγ^{ο}. **12** θησε[ύς Lobel; sub θησε͂[paragraphus videtur. **14** τ̣[: vix videtur. **15** in laeva margine text. schol. est: X; π̣[: vel τ. **16**] ̣: fortasse κ. **18** δ̣[: aut α.

Fr. 10.

] [
οὐ γάρ τις ἔμ]ιμνε παραὶ Δία [
παμβασιλῆα θεῶν [
μετὰ δὲ γλαυκ]ῶπις Ἀθάνα [
εὖ φάσκεν ἰθὺ]ς ποτὶ ὃν κρατερό- [ ] [
φ῾ρονα πάτρῳ ἱ]πποκέλευθον· [
ὦδ’ ὤν ἀγαθὸ]ς μεμναμένος ἀ[ν-
δρὶ μαχέσθω]
νῦν δ’ αὖτε Ποσείδα]ον ἂν θ[αν]άτου [
[ῥέσκευ τρικέφα-
λον Γαρυόνα ...]

(For no-one) stayed by the side of Zeus, sovereign king of the gods. Afterwards, grey-eyed Athena spoke well and directly to her stout-hearted uncle, the driver of horses. 'Come, let him, being noble, take thought as he fights with (my) man. But should you now again, O Poseidon, rescue Geryon, the three headed one, from death ....'

S. 14. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 3.
1 δία. **4** ὁν.
1]ι: credibile videtur; ἔμ]ιμνε Lobel, μ]ιμνε Page[4], οὐκ ἄρ ἔμ]ιμνε Ferrari[2] 175. **1–2** Δία|παμ- falso dividitur Π Page[2], παραὶ Δία παμ-|Page[4]; οὔτε θεῶν τις ἔμ]ιμνε παραὶ Δία|[παμβασιλῆα ⏑–] Lazzeri[2] 175, οὐ γάρ τις ἔμ]ιμνε παμβασιλῆα θεῶν Barrett[2]. **2** παμβασιλῆα Page[2], πάμμεγαν Ferrari[2] 175. **3** μετὰ δὲ γλαυκ] Curtis, τόκα δὴ γλαυκ] Page[2];]ῶ: scil. **4** εὖ φάσκεν ἰθὺ]ς Curtis, φάτ’ ἀπὸ κραδία]ς Page[2]; εὐφραδέω]ς Barrett[1]. **5** -φρονα et ἱ]ππο- praebet Lobel 4, πάτρῳ Page[2]. **6** ὦδ’ ὤν ἀγαθὸ]ς Curtis, σύ γ’ vel ἄγ’ ὑποσχέσιο]ς Page[2]; ἀ[: aut δ. **6–7** ἀ[ν|δρὶ μαχέσθω] suppl. Curtis. **7** περ ὑπέστας] Page[2]. **8** νῦν δ’ αὖτε Ποσείδα]ον Curtis, Γαρυ]όναν θ[αν]άτου Lobel 4, init. μὴ βούλεο Barrett[1] (ante correctionem μὴ βούλεο Γαρυ]όναν θ[αν]άτου|ῥῦσθαι στυγεροῦ] rursus Barrett), ἴθι ῥύεο Γαρυ]όναν Page[2]. **9–10** suppl. Curtis.

Fr. 11.

]κωυφα ̣α ̣ ̣ ̣[
]κάματος καὶ ἀμ[
] [
]φύλοπις ἀργαλέα[
]· [
]μάχαι τ' ἀνδρὸ[
δι]απρυσίοι· [
]ος ἵππων [

... toil and ... grievous battle din ... the battles of the man ... penetrating ... of horses.

S. 22. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 17.
7 απρυσίοι·
1 α ̣α: inter τ Lobel 15 legit; α ̣: ϑ vel ε; ̣ ̣ ̣[: radix bipedis litterae, deinde pars convexi alicuius. **2** ἀ]κάματος Lobel 15. **5**] ̣: crus dextrum modo videtur. **6–7**]μάχαι τ' ἀνδρο[κτασίαι τε ⏑–⏑ δι]απ ρυσίοι Lobel 15.

Fr. 12

col. i.
]νε̣[
]ναντ[
]α̣ν δο̣ι̣ω̣ ̣[
]
]τ̣α νόωι διέλε̣[ν
]ν·
ἐδοάσσατό οἱ]πολὺ κέρδιον εἶν
]οντ̣α λάθραι πολεμε[ῖν
ἀνδρὶ] κ̣ρ̣αταιῶι·
εὐρ]ά̣ξ κατεφράζε̣τ̣[ό] οἱ̣
πι]κρὸν ὄλεθ ̓ ρον·
καὶ Γαρυόνας ἔ]χε̣ν̣ ἀσπίδα πρ̣ός[
Διὸς υἱόν]
ὁ δὲ νῦν ξίφος εἵλ]ε̣το· τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ κρα-
τὸς ἔλα κυνέην],
καναχὴν δ' ἔχεν ἱπ]πόκομος τρυφάλει·
ἐκυλίνδετο δ' αὐτίκ'] ἐπὶ ζαπέδωι·

(desunt ep. + str. 1–5)

col. ii.]ων̣ στυγε[ρ̣]οῦ
]ο..[
κ]ε̣φ[αλ]ᾶι πέρ̣ι̣ [πότμον] ἔ̣χων, πεφορυ-
γ]μένος αἵματ[ι]..[ ].τε χολᾶι,
ὀ]λεσάνορος αἰολοδε[ίρ]ο̣υ
ὀδύναισιν Ὕδρας· σιγᾶι δ' ὅ γ' ἐπι-
κλοπάδαν [ἐ]νέρε[ι]σε μετώπωι
διὰ δ' ἔσχισε σάρκα [καὶ] ὀ̣[στέ]α δαί-
μονος αἴσαι·
διὰ δ' ἀντικ'ρὺ σχέθεν οἰ[σ]τ̣ὸ̣ς ἐπ' ἀ-
κροτάταν κορυφάν̣,
ἐμίαινε δ' ἄρ' αἵματι π̣ο̣ρ[φυρέωι
θώρακά τε καὶ βροτό̣ε̣ντ̣[α μέλεα·
ἀπέκλινε δ' ἄρ' αὐχένα Γ̣α̣ρ̣[υόνας
ἐπικάρσιον, ὡς ὅκα μ[ά]κ̣ω̣[ν
ἅτε καταισχύνοισ' ἁπ̣α̣λ̣ὸ̣ν̣ [δέμας
αἶψ' ἀπὸ φύλλα βαλοῖσα̣.[

col. i.

two … in his mind he[1] distinguished …; [it seemed to him] much better … to fight with stealth … mighty [man] … on one side he devised for him … bitter destruction; [and Geryon held] his shield against [the son of Zeus, but now Herakles took hold of his sword, and struck the helmet] from Geryon's head, the helmet with its horse-hair plume [gave off a great clang and straightaway rolled] on the ground.

col. ii.

… the end that is hateful death, having doom around his head, defiled with blood and … guts, the pain of the speckle-necked Hydra, the destroyer of men; secretly he, with guile, thrust it into his brow and with divine dispensation pierced his flesh and bones; and the arrow went straight into the crown of his head, and his armour and his gory limbs were stained with blood; and Geryon tilted his neck like a poppy when spoiling its gentle body suddenly drops its petals …

S. 15 col. i. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 4.

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[1] Herakles.

6 ν· vix videtur. 7 εῖν. 8 με͂[. 9 αιῶι·. 14 το·, τοῦ. 16 πόκ, λεὶ·. 17 δωι·.
1 ε̣[: vel ϑ. 2 ἐ]ναντ[ίον De Martino 60. 3 post ο̣ pars inferna cruris est forsitan ι,]ανδο̣.ω̣.[Lobel 5,]ανδο̣ι̣ω̣.[Davies,]αν δο̣λ̣.[Musso 73,]αν δολω.[Gentili 747,]αν δολί[ως De Martino 60, 5]τα Lobel 5, ταῦ]τα Curti 1; διέλε̣[ν] Lobel 5, vel fort. διέλε[ξατο West 159. 7 ἐδοάσσατό οἱ (vel γὰρ)] Diggle 5. 8 τ̣: vel γ; μέν[οντα Ferrari[1] 43, ἐπὶ τὸν κατί]οντ̣α Lerza[2] 42, πυκινὰ φρονέ]οντα Lazzeri[1] 89, ἀπάνευθε κι]όντα Barrett[3] 19; [ῖν Lobel 5. 9]κ̣ρα̣: hae litterae calamitosae male sunt; φωτὶ vel ἀνδρὶ] κ̣ρα̣ταιῶι· Page[3] 150, ἢ ἀμφαδὸν ἀνδρὶ] Prest 75, τόξῳ ῥοπάλῳ τε] Lerza[3] 24. 10]α̣: vix videtur, εὐρ]α̣ξ Barrett[1], βεβαὼς δὲ παρ]ὲξ Page[2]; κατεφράζετ̣[ό] vel κατέφράζε̣ τοι[Lobel 6. adjuncto P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 5.1] οἱ: hae duae partim ruinosae, sed videntur. 11 [δολομήδεα] Page[3] 151; πι]κρὸν̣ Lobel 5, ν̣: crus primum huius modo supervivit. 12]χ̣: vel accentus acutus; στιβαρὰν ἔ]χε̣ν̣ α̣σπίδα Prest 75; κρατεράν] ἔχ̣ε̣ν Lazzeri[2] 192; ς̣[: sigma terminale credibile est; προ̣ς̣[ ] Lobel 5, πρός[ϑ' Campbell, πρόσ[|ϑ' Davies. 12-7 suppl. Curtis, 12 suppl. ἔ]χε̣ν̣ Page[4]; sqq. χὠ μὲν στέρνων ἔ]χεν ἀσπίδα πρόσ[|ϑ', ὁ δὲ πέτρωι]|[κροτάφοιο καϑίκ]ετο suppl. Page[4]. 14 κατ' ὀχῆά νιν ἵκ]ετο praebet Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 13, τινάσσ]ετο Curti 5; ἐκλίνδ]ετο Ferrari[2] 192. 15 [τὸς ἄφαρ μεγάλαι|καναχᾶι πέσεν ἰπ]πόκ Page[2]. Inter 15 et 16 marg. text. schol. επ.. cac..[ ]...τηνταρ.[ ]ην.[ ]δο^υ. 17 ἐκυλίνδετο δ' αὐτίκ'[Curtis; ἁ δ' αὐτόϑι μίμνεν] suppl. Page[4].

S. 15 col. ii. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 4.
3 πέρι̣. 4 χολᾶι. 6 ας·, σιγᾶι. 7 πωι·. 9 αισαι·. 10 (δὶα) = διὰ, δὰντ, κρῦ, σχέϑεν, οἰ[. 11 τᾶν. 16 ἄτε.
1 φέρ]ων̣ Barrett[2], κιχ]ὼν̣ Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 21; sub στυγε[ρ]οῦ est marg. text. schol.:] ... στυγεροιοτο̣ []·[, unde lect. στυγερουϑανατ[, sub στ-, >– videtur. 2 τέ[λος] Barrett[2]; ϑανάντοι]ο π̣[ικρὰς Page[2]. 3 κ]ε̣φ[αλ]ᾶι Lobel 5, πέρι [πότμον] Barrett[2];]ε̣: videtur credibile. 4 γ]μένος αἵματ[ι praebet Lobel 5; π̣ι̣κ̣ρ̣ο̣]τ̣α̣[τ̣α̣]ι̣ Lerza[2] 43, ϑυμο]β̣[όρω]ι Ferrari[1] 45 legit: nimiae dubiae litterae; [κῆρας] Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 21; .]ι: forsitan; [~ 6], [~ 2]. 5]ο̣: fieri potest, αἰολοδε[ίρ]ο̣υ legit Lobel 5. 7 [ἐ]νέρεισε implet Lobel 5. 8 ο̣[: arcus dexter orbis modo videtur, igitur possis ε, c quidem, [καὶ] ο̣[στ]έ praebet Lobel 5. 10 οἰ[σ]τ̣ὸς haec implet Lobel 5; quoque σχέϑ' ὀιστὸς alter. Lobel 5;]τ̣: vix videtur. 11 ν̣: scil. 12–14 πο̣ρ̣φ[υρέωι et [α μέλεα quoque Γα̣ρ̣[υόνας praebet Page[1] 70. 13 sub ϑ paragraphus videtur, τ̣[: vel π, ο̣ε̣ντ̣[α: probabiliter; βροτο̣ε̣ντ̣[α μέλεα Page[2], βροτο̣ε̣ντ̣[' ἔναρα Führer[1] 681. 14 Γα̣ρ̣[: γ vel τ, Γα̣ρ̣[υόνας Page[2]. 15 οκα·μ[; μ[ά]κ̣ω̣[ν scil., suppl. Lobel. 16 ἅτε Lobel, ἅ τε Lazzeri[2] 192; ἁπ̣α̣λ̣ο̣ν̣ [:probabilissime; [ϑάλος vel [δέμας Page[1] 70, ἁπαλὰν [δέραν Salvador 192.

Fr. 13.

(a)

] τη[
] ἅπο[
] ⟦~~ταν~~⟧[
] περ[
] παν[
]̣σ̣[

(b)

] [
κε]φαλάν·̣[
ἰο]δόκα· [
]̣ωρ ποκα̣[
]ἀ̣νήρ· ουτ[
]ν̣ ἦτορ̣[

… head; … quiver; … a man … heart …

S. 9. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 42 a+b.
configuratio de (a) cum (b) incerta est.
(a) **2** ἅ. (b) **1** φαλαν·. **2** δοκα·. **4** α̣νηρ·.
(a) **5**]̣: ε vel c; ̣[: aliquid circulare. (b) **1** ̣]: τ probabilissimum. **2** ἰο]δόκα Lobel, et vel ὀιστο]δόκα Barrett[1] 7. **3**]̣: punctum modo vivit. **5**]̣[: solum gutta videtur.

Fr. 14

ἐοίκασι δ’ οἱ παλαιοὶ καλεῖν τὸν Βαῖτιν Ταρτησσόν, τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὴν νήσους Ἐρύθειαν. διόπερ οὕτως εἰπεῖν ὑπολαμβάνουσι Στησίχορον περὶ τοῦ Γηρυόνος βουκόλου διότι γεννηθείη

σχεδὸν ἀντιπέρας κλεενᾶς Ἐρυθεί-
ας[⏑ –⁝⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –‖
⏔⁝–⁝⏑ ⏑ –⁝⏔ – ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ – –‖
⏔⁝– ⏔ –⁝⏑ ⏑ –⁝⏑ ⏑ –
⏔]Ταρτησσοῦ
ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγὰς ἀπείρονας ἀρ-
γυρορίζου ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτ͡ρας.

The ancient [writers] seem to call the [river] Baetis, Tartessos, whereas Gadeira and her adjoining islands, Erytheia. This is why, it is supposed, Stesichoros could say of Geryon’s herdsman that he was born …

… almost opposite famous Erytheia … by the limitless silver-rooted springs of the river Tartessos in the hollow of a rock.

S. 7. Str. 3.2.11 (i.228 Kramer).

1 pro σχεδὸν Suchfort addit γεννηθὲν; ἀντιπέρας codd., ἀντιπέραν C: Suchfort et al. suscipiunt. **1–2** Ἐρυθίας codd., Stephanus, -θείας Xylander. **7** ποταμοῦ Suchfort delet; παγὰς codd., πηγὰς Suchfort, Ursinus. παγὰς ⟨ἐγείνατ’⟩ ἀπείρονας Lazzeri, παγὰς ⟨τίκτεν⟩ ἀπείρονας Barrett ap. Page^{4}. ἀπείρονας codd., ἀπείρονος Suchfort, Groskurd. **7–8** ἀργυρορίζους AB, -ρρίζους C, -ρρίζους, -ρίζου Wilamowitz. **8** κευθμῶνι πέτρας Korais, Hermann prob. alii: -ώνων A^{pc} C, -όνων A^{ac}, κευμόνων B; πέτρας codd., πέτραις C. ἐν κευθμῶσι πετρῶν Suchfort, κευθμώνων πέτραις Blomfield.

Fr. 15.

Στησίχορος δὲ τὸ παρὰ Φόλῳ τῷ Κενταύρῳ ποτήριον σκύφιον δέπας καλεῖ ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ σκυφοειδές. λέγει δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους·

σκυφίον δὲ λαβὼν δέπας ἔμμετρον ὡς
τριλάγυνον
πί' ἐπισχόμενος, τό ῥά οἱ παρέθη-
κε Φόλος κεράσας.

And taking a small cup he drank, holding high the measured three flagons—the draught Pholos had mixed and handed to him.

S. 19. Athen. 11. 499ab (3. 100 Kaibel).
1 σκυφίον codd. Ursinus, Kleine, σκύφιον Page et al., σκύφειον Schneidewin, Edmonds, σκύπφειον Casaubonus; δέ E. 2 τριλάγυνον codd., τριλάγηνον Suchfort, Blomfield, τριαλάγωνον B. 2–3 Leutsch ὡς deleta ἔμμετρον τριλάγυνον vel ἐμμέτρως τριλάγυνον suadet. 3 πῖ' A, πί' E, πῖ⟨νεν⟩ vel ⟨ἐκ⟩πί' Kleine, πῖ⟨εν⟩ Suchfort et al. 4 Φόλος codd., λόφος E; κεράσας codd., κεράσαις Page et al., ⟨ἐγ⟩κεράσας Bergk.

Fr. 16.

col. i:	col. ii:
]	.δα..[
] [ ]	σινοκ[
]αδικω[ ]	δωκε[
]μενο[ ]	ενθεν̣[
] [ ]	οινον.[
]· [ ]	κὰλιμ.[
]. [ ]	... [].[

col. i.
... unjustly ...

col. ii.
... he gave ... whence ... wine ...

S. 20. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 46.
col. i. **6**]·. col. ii. **6** κὰλιμ[.
col. i. 7].: apex alicujus rutundi. col. ii. **1** ante .pars orbis, ..[: pars infera litterae erectae videtur, deinde pes de α vel λ. **5** .[: arcus laevus circuli. **6** in laeva margine ɔ videtur; .[: arcus laevus brevis circuli, **6–7** Lobel πευ-|]καλιμᾶ[ν. 7 ... []: prius τ vel ζ, deinde ε vel ο, tum forsitan ν.

Fr. 17.

ἀ]ϑανάτοις καταμα ̣[
 ̣̀ ̣ ̣]α̣μώνιον ε ̣[
. . . . .

… to immortals …

S. 23. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 24 ed. Lobel.
1 κἀτα. 2 μών.
ἀ] suppl. Lobel supra μα ̣[est marg. text. schol.: κᾱ̣ ̣[; fort. -καρύσσιεν supra -μανύειν (deis aliquem denuntiare) Page[4]; καταμαν̣[υ- Page[4] legit, καταμά[ρψ- Curtis; ̣[: pars supera de litterae videtur. 2 πεδ/μετ]α̣μώνιον Lobel, possis Τελ]α̣μώνιον Curtis; ̣[: arcus laevus circuli.

Fr. 18.

. . . .
ἐ]ν̣ κονίαις̣[
] ̣ ̣μεναδ[
φ]ύλοπ̣ι̣ν̣ α̣[ἰνήν
]ολωλότε[
] ̣ν̣[̣ ̣] ̣[ ] ̣[
. . . .

… in the dust … grim strife …

S. 24. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 18 ed. Lobel.
1 ἐ]ν Lobel. 2] ̣ ̣: prima littera forsitan π, deinde ο vel ε, sed si π conrupta est possis ut secunda ϑ vel c. 3 φ]ύλοπ̣ι̣ν̣ suppl. Lobel; α̣[ἰνὰν vel ἀ̣[ργαλέαν Page[4]. 4 (ἀπ)]ολωλότε[ς Page[4]. 5] ̣: arcus dexter brevis circuli; ̣[: pars supera circuli;] ̣[: bis guttae atramenti, fortasse bis diversae litterae.

Fr. 19

. .
ὣς ἤνẹ[πε
ἀπαμε[ιβ-
].[].[
. .

So s/he spoke … answering …

S. 25. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 70 ed. Lobel.
1 ἤνẹ[πε Lobel, ἠνẹ[ίχετο Curtis. 2 ἀπαμε[ιβ- Lobel. 3 guttae variae videntur.

Fr. 20.

. . . . .
] [
μ]ẹ́γ' ἀρίστοι [
]νθεν ἐρ⟨ε⟩ικ̣ομενọ[
] [
]..[].ισσẹ.οκυ [
. . . . .

… by far the noblest … being torn …

S. 26. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 2 ed. Lobel.
1 ρίσ.
1 vestigia languida vix videntur. 2]ẹ́: hoc probabilissimum videtur Lobel. 3]νθεν: possis ἦ]νθεν etiam ἔ]νθεν, ἐμία]νθεν Ferrari[1] 43 legit; ἐρ⟨ε⟩ικ̣ομενọ[medetur Lobel; ọ[: huius modo arcus superus laevus. 5]..[: arcus dexter orbis videtur, et elementa erecti; inter ẹ et ο fortasse τ.

Fr. 21.

col. i.		col. ii.
. . .		. .
] ̣α[		
]φυγην·	[	
]μεν		ἀλλ[
] ̣ν		πὲ ̣[
] ̣τινα·		τοι ̣[
] ̣αν	$\bar{N}$	ῐ ̣ ̣[
] ̣ ̣θαι	·[	
]	[	
]	[	
]	⟦$\underline{\bar{N}}$⟧[	
. . .		. .

… to flee.

S. 27. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 7 ed. Lobel.
col. i. **2** γην·. **5** τινα·. col. ii. **4** πὲ. **6** ῐ. **7** ·[.
col. i. **1**] ̣: pedes de α vel λ. **2** sub η est marg. text. schol.: ει. **3** marg. text. schol.: νọ ̣ȯ ̣[ ] εγ^{ρ}|εξ^{ωαμ}[ ]; sub εξ^{ω} diple cum praedicta gutta videtur; sub hoc >– est. **4**] ̣: α rationalabiliter. **5**] ̣: vel cuspides de υ vel duae litterae.
col. ii. **4** πὲ. **6** ῐ.
col. ii. **4**] ̣: aliquid erectum. **5**] ̣: arcus laevus superus circuli. **6** ῐ ̣ ̣[: postquam ῐ fortasse φ vel aliquid circulare; marg. $\bar{N}$ = 1,300. **10** ⟦$\underline{\bar{N}}$⟧ scr. deinde del.

Fr. 22.

. . . .
].[ ]. . . [
φυ]λ̣άσσει [
(ἀ)με]ίλιχον [
].ον.[
].ν.[
. . . .

… s/he guards … gentle …

S. 28. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 8 ed. Lobel.
2 suppl. Curtis. 3 suppl. Lobel.

Fr. 23.

. .
]. . . .[
]υν̣[
]ν̣ομῆα[
]. .[
. .

… shepherd …

S. 29. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 10 ed. Lobel. 3 νομῆα = Eurytionem? Lobel.

Fr. 24.

. . .
]. .αι̣δ̣οcουδ[
]οι
].[]ϱες ηλύθον ε.[
]υ̣χ̣ο̣ϱ̣[
. . .

… they came …

S. 39. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 29 ed. Lobel.
3 λύθ.
1]. .: pars erecti deinde fortasse ϰ; οὐ]ϰ Ἄιδος οὐδ[veri sim Page[4]. 3 ἐσηλύθον legit Lobel. 4 εὐϱ]υ̣χ̣ο̣ϱ̣[- Lobel.

Fr. 25.

. . .
]. . .ελτ[
Ἅ]φαιστος ε.[
] [
. . .

… Hephaistos …

S. 55. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 48 ed. Lobel.
2 suppl. Lobel.

Fr. 26.

. . .
] ε̣.[
]κατ.[
]α̣μφ[
] []Γ̣αϱυ̣[όν-
] .[
. . .

… Geryon …

S. 70. P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 63 ed. Lobel.
4 suppl. Lobel.

COMMENTARY

Title of the Poem

From such meagre remains it comes as no surprise that the name of the poem does not appear—recto or verso (cf. S. 133 (b) verso Στη[σιχόρου] Ἵππ[ος δούρειος). A title for the poem is not attested earlier than the 2nd century CE. Pausanias (8.3.1): Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἐν Γηρυονηίδι ἐποιήσατο μνήμην; and again slightly later in Athenaios (11.100), τὸ δ' ἐν Γηρυονηίδι Στησιχόρου ἔμμετρον ὡς τριλάγυνον τὴν τῶν τριῶν γενῶν ἀμφιβολίαν ἔχει; the poem is also named at Σ *A.R.* (1.211), Στησίχορος δὲ ἐν τῇ Γηρυονίδι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ πελάγει Σαρπηδονίαν φησί. The title given here was probably one used by the grammarians and librarians of Alexandria as part of their classification of lyric poetry (vid. Pfeiffer 1968.130). There is no extant hypothesis. As no variant title for the poem survives, paraphrased or otherwise (cf. West 1966.150), the form given by Pausanias seems to be the standard one, Γηρυονηΐς.

Fr. 1 = Athen.11.469e (3. 32 Kaibel)

Verse: Lines 1–9 = Anti/strophe 1–9

At the start of each day Helios mounts his chariot in the East and prepares to make his daily journey across the heavens to the West, where he dismounts from his car and begins his nightly voyage in a golden cup to his mother, wife and children. This part of the myth was well known in antiquity, e.g. Athen.11.781; Apollod.2.5.10; Eust. *Od.*1632.23; Helios 105, 96, 97; Herakles 2551, 2552. Vid. West 2002.116, n. 30. Working within the framework of Apollodoros's sequence of events,[1] Herakles has crossed the stretch of water separating Erytheia from mainland Spain. Helios, back in his golden cup, leaves for the East, while the hero continues his mission on dry land.

The anticipation of the god's embarkation is expressed by the final clause ὄφρα … ἀφίκηθ' in line four: Herakles has either completed the labour or is now preparing for it. Cf. Gentili 1976.746. If Herakles is spending the evening on Mount Abas (2.5.10), Helios needs the cup to return to the East on the following morning. Subsequently, at the dawning of the next day Herakles fights Geryon, steals the cattle and then

[1] Vid. pp. 63–64.

waits for the god to arrive so that the hero may return to the mainland.[2] Thus Herakles borrows the golden cup twice. His labours in the Far-West recall the deeds of Gilgamesh, who, like Herakles, wandered the world dressed in an animal skin and discovered a beautiful garden protected by goddess(es); both heroes travel the waters on the edge of the world in a special vessel used by the sun god. For a more detailed comparison of the two heroes vid. Marlow 1954.35, West 1997.463 ff. Cf. Petropoulos 2001.211.

In Panyassis's version (fr. 9 *PEG* = Ath.469d), Herakles gets Helios's golden cup with the help of Nereus. Cf. Ath.469d. According to the *Vatican Paradoxographer* (32), Nereus's shape-shifting was featured in Stesichoros. Cf. Williams 1996.121–126. His entry does not specify in which of Stesichoros's poems Nereus appears; he is associated with Herakles (e.g. Herakles wrestles with Nereus.[3] Cf. *ABV* 361; *ARV*^{2} 347). Since Herakles is crossing the Atlantic, the hero might welcome the assistance of the sea god. As well as being linked with the golden cup, Nereus played a role in Herakles's acquisition of the apples of the Hesperides: vid. Pherecyd.3F16a = Σ A.R.4.1396–996; Apollod.2.5.11. Cf. Proteus in Hom. *Od.*4.383–389, Apollod.3.13.5. Nereus's role in the *Geryoneis* may be one of a 'wise man/guide', so common in Western folklore. Brillante notes (1982.19): 'La storia rientra in un tipo ben noto anche dalla fiaba: l'eroe, prima di ottenere dal donatore l'aiuto richiesto, deve ridurlo all'impotenza.' Vid. Propp 1968.53; Lonsdale 1981.9–11; West 2007.210–211.

Some motifs in the *Geryoneis* have parallels in European folklore: the tale of a flying winged vessel and golden apples in a beautiful garden are found in Germanic lore (Grimm 1982.156). For a full discussion of Stesichoros and folk-tale origins vid. Davies 1988a.277–290; Burkert 1987b.135. Cf. the Hebrew tradition, viz. *Mal.*3.20. Being on the edge of the known world, Herakles may have needed a guide: Nereus, the eldest son of Pontos, was revered for his righteousness and kindly thoughts (cf. Hes. *Th.*233–235), and since Herakles has to travel over long distances of water it seems appropriate for the 'Old Man of the Sea' (Hom. *Il.*1.538, *Od.*24.58; Hes. *Th.*1003) to be included in the *Geryoneis*. Stesichoros was probably well aware of his own native myths: the story of Daphnis has its roots in Sicily (Theoc.7.72–77; Diod.4.84.2–4; *TrGF*.1. 99.FI. Cf. Ael.

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[2] Vid. Herakles 2554.

[3] 1–2 *ABL*.

*V.H.*10.18). Stesichoros may be seen as the forerunner of a long tradition of pastoral poetry. Cf. Prescott 1899.121–125.

This first period of the stanza appears corrupt. The codex gives ἅλιος which does not fit the metre; this form is not attested until the 5th century (S. *Tr.*96; E. *Alc.*395). Similarly defective is Garrod's ἅλιον. Equally impossible is the more common epic ἠέλιος, always in Homer except at *Odyssey* 8.270–271; so too is the Doric ἀέλιος (P. *P.*4.144; Call. *Dem.*92; *Lau. Pall.*89; S. *Ant.*809; E. *Ph.*175, al.) put forward by Schweighaeuser et al. 'Helios' may have had a place somewhere in the narrative here, it is just difficult to position him at the beginning of this line. An adverb starting the stanza is not ill-fitting. The anacrusis and the first longum are easily accommodated by τᾶμος. West fills the last position by altering the patronymic suffix and adding ἶς, allowing δέπας to start the second period.

1 τᾶμος: frequently used in epic (Hes. *Op.*488, 585, al.) only once in tragedy (S. *Tr.*533); in the Doric form: Theoc. *Id.*13.27, 14.34, 24.13; Simon. fr. 24.3, 25.3, 15.22.3, 15.24.3; Call. *Lav. Pall.*112; Cerc. fr. 7.18. In the *Geryoneis*, 'then' presumably comes in response to some now lost relative ἦμος, as in *Il.*23.228, commonly followed by another particle (*Il.*7.434, *Od.*4.401, et al.).

Ὑπεριονίδα ἶς: 'strong son of Hyperion'. Stesichoros seems to be following the tradition known to Hesiod (*Th.*371–374), that Helios was the son of Hyperion, whereas in Homer Hyperion is Helios, e.g. *Od.*12.175–176, ἐπεὶ κέλετο μεγάλη ἶς|Ἠελίου τ' αὐγὴ Ὑπεριονίδαο ἄνακτος, so making Ὑπεριονίδης a quasi-patronymic like Ἡρακλείδης = Ἡρακλῆς. It is first clear in Homer that the god travels across the sky daily (*Il.*8.68–69): ἦμος δ' Ἠέλιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκει,|καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίταινε τάλαντα; S. *Aj.*845–846, σὺ δ', ὦ τὸν αἰπὺν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν|Ἥλιε, πατρῴαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὅταν χθόνα|ἴδῃς. Others, such as Barrett, have inserted particles after Ὑπεριονίδας in order to fill the final position. If Ἠέλιος vel sim. are to be disregarded something in the nominative is needed. West's supplement is adequate: ἶς is not an obvious choice to describe Helios, however there exist Hom. *h.Ven.*371 ἱερὸν μένος Ἠελίοιο, 374 μένος ὀξέος Ἠελίοιο. Cf. Lerza 1982.39. **ἶς**: literally, 'strength', common in epic, often referring to men, e.g. Hom. *Od.*2.409, τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειφ' ἱερὴ ἲς Τηλεμάχοιο; in Hesiod *Th.*332, ἀλλά ἑ ἶς ἐδάμασσε βίης Ἡρακληείης; 951, ἶς Ἡρακλῆος, τελέσας στονόεντας ἀέθλους. ἶς: the ending of the line with a monosyllable

occurs occasionally in epic, e.g. Hom. *Il.*1.46; more rarely in Virgil, e.g. *Aen.*4.132, 6.847, *E.*3.62, *G.*1.313. The first period of the stanza—augmented with the anacrusis. Cf. Ibyc.282.5–6, ξα]ν̣θᾶς Ἑ̣λένας περὶ ε̣ἴδει|δῆ]ρ̣ιν πολύυμνον ἔχ[ο]ντες, –⁝–⏑⏑–⏑⏑––‖ –⁝–⏑⏑–⏑⏑––‖. The metrical pauses that mark the conclusion of a period, viz. at the end of lines one, three, five and at the close of the strophe, all appear to coincide with natural breaks in syntax, producing self-contained units of verse; usually, as in Homer, the 'thought unit' is made up of two halves, one stating the essential facts of the narrative, the other ornamental and seemingly parenthetical. Illustrated thus: τᾶμος δ' Ὑπεριονίδα ἲς ‖ δέπας ἐσκατέβα ⟨παγ⟩χρύσεον ὄφρα δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περάσας ‖ ἀφίκηθ' ἱαρᾶς ποτὶ βένθεα νυκτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς ‖ ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον παίδας τε φίλους, ὁ δ' ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα δάφναισι κατάσκιον ὤκα ποσὶν παῖς Διὸς ἐῢς ‖.

In the *Geryoneis* Stesichoros closes periods with pendant endings, but ends the stanza with a blunt. Pendant endings also appear in Stesichoros's *Boar Hunters*, e.g. 222 col. ii.4, -ηρες Ἀχαιοὶ[·, –⏑⏑–– ‖. All the endings in the dactylo-epitrite metre of his *Thebaid* appear to end in double longa. Pendant endings are common in Ibykos, mostly, but not always (vid. 286.1–2), to mark the ending of a period, e.g. 282.33 ἶξε]ν̣ πόδ[ας ὠ]κὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς, ⏔–⏔–⏑⏑––‖.

2 δέπας. The two short positions make up the anacrusis preceding a run of seven dactyls. Cf. Pi. *P.*3.23 μεταμώ̣νια ..., ⏑⏑⁝–⏑⏑. Et Serv. *cent. metr.* (iv 461 Keil), stesichoreum constat heptametro catalectico, ut est hoc: –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏓. The cup is loaned to Herakles by Helios to travel across the sea. Presumably he obtains the vessel somewhere *near* the island: in Hesiod it is only a narrow expanse of water (*Th.*291–292, ἤματι τῷ ὅτε περ βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους|Τίρυνθ' εἰς ἱερὴν διαβὰς πόρον Ὠκεανοῖο) that divides the mainland from the island.

This vessel, according to Mimnermos, had a hollow bed, made by Hephaistos with wings of gold (fr. (West) 12W= 470a). Helios rode in the cup by night to the land of the Aithiopes (fr. 1. 4–5). Athenaios says Herakles used the cup to get Geryon's cattle (11.781 d (iii 16 Kaibel)): τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον ὁ Στησίχορος ποτηρίῳ διαπλεῖν φησι τὸν Ὠκεανόν, ᾧ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα περαιωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρυόνου βόας ὁρμῶντα. In Pherekydes's version (*FGrH* 3 F 1.18. Jacoby), Okeanos tips the cup in order to test Herakles's spirit. Panyassis (fr. 9 *PEG*) tells how Herakles obtained the cup of Helios from Nereus. Cf. Herakles 2545, 2546, 2550,

2552; Helios 95, 96). For a brief discussion of δέπας and Mycenaean *di-pa* vid. Collinge 1957.55–59, Chadwick 1973.326–327. West's ἐσκατέβα seems better than the manuscript's -βαινε. Although not a common form in Homer (e.g. *Od.*24.222), it fits neatly between the anacrusis and the masculine caesura. So too does Pardini's (1994.59) ἐσκατέβαιν' ἐ⟨ς⟩. No parallel for this construction is found in Stesichoros or in fact Homer; moreover, it looks a bit prosaic for archaic poetry. The intensive compound ⟨παγ⟩χρύσεον restores the cola and is appropriate for a sun god's bowl. Sun gods, due to their natural effulgence, are frequently described and associated with gold in Greek poetry, e.g. Hom. *h. Hel.*8–10; so too in the Ṛgveda, e.g. Savitṛ 1.35.8–9, 10.139.1, 1.35.8. Cf. Hom. *Il.*11.632–633; Alcm.56.3; Antim. (Diehl.) fr. 4; Athen.11.501f–502a; Verg. *Aen.*2.765 et Exod.25.29. ⟨παγ⟩χρύσεον scans ⏕⁝-⁝⏑⏑ (quasi-caesura, i.e. cutting between elements of a compound word), the contraction of the first two shorts in this position of the anti/strophe is paralleled by *Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii. 6's σιγᾶι δ' ὅ γ' ἐπι-|, sic ⏕⁝-⁝⏑⏑-. The υ of ⟨παγ⟩χρύσεον is long, as in Homer, e.g. *Il.*1.15 χρυσέῳ, so too in *Gery.* fr. 3's π[αγχρ]ύ̣σεα: Pindar sometimes shortens the upsilon, e.g. *P.*4.4, ἔνθα ποτὲ χρῠσέων Διὸς αἰητῶν πάρεδρος, tragedians adopted this licence, but only in their lyric songs, e.g. S. *Ant.*102, *O.C.*794, *O.T.*157, 188; E. *HF.*351, *Med.*632, 978, *Hkld.*916 et al. Bakchylides has it short, e.g. 5.174; 15.2.

2–3 **ὄφρα**. The omicron is long before muta cum liquida, its lengthened position falls on the arsis of the foot. This form is the most common final particle in Homer, after past tenses *Il.*1.158, 444, 5.128; *Od.*3.15, 6.173, 9.13. It rarely appears in tragedy: twice in Aischylos, *Ch.*360, *Eum.*340, once in Sophokles, *El.*225, never in Euripides. **ὄφρα δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περάσας**: word-endings at certain positions in the poem are avoided, resulting in a metrical bridge. Lines 2–3 thus read: ⏒⏑-⁝⏕⏒⏑--‖. The bridges in these positions appear with some consistency throughout the poem. For a detailed statistical analysis vid. Haslam 1974.

3 **Ὠκεανοῖο**. Geographically Okeanos is a circumambient ocean into which all rivers and streams eventually flow (e.g. Hes. *Th.*790–791). The belief that the land only covered a small portion of the earth was one widely held in the ancient world (vid. West 1963.174–175; Kirk et al. 1983.11 ff. Cf. *RV* 10.89.2–4). For the etymology of Okeanos vid. West 1997.144–148. **περάσας**: 'pass across' or 'traverse' (πέρᾱ, 'beyond'; cf. Lat. peren-die, Eng. *far* and *fore*), frequently in epic over water,

e.g. Hom. *Od.*5.174–175; 6.271–272; 24.118; Hes. *Op.*738–739; in lyric, Alc.1.c; Pi. *N.*3.20–21. Cf. Ammonius in *Il.*21.195. Page (1974) prefers the alternative form of περάσαις (*-αντς > -αις / -ᾱς) here, despite giving κεράσας at *Gery.* fr. 15.4 in the same edition. **δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περάσας**: cf. line ending Hom. *Od.*10.508, δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περήσῃς. διά + gen. of place gives the sense of travelling *through* the waves of the sea. Cf. Stesich.209 col. i. 4, δι' αἰθέρο[ς ἀτ]ρυγέτας κατέπτ̣α̣το.

4 **ἀφίκηθ'**: ⏔⁞-⁞ ... In Homer ὄφρα + subjunctive is well attested in final clauses (e.g. *Od.*8.27), so too is ὄφρα + optative (e.g. *Il.*7.340). As both moods are common in Homer (evidence for this is lacking in Stesichoros), the amendment by some scholars (e.g. Page) from the manuscript's subjunctive form to the optative is not warranted. The anacrusis introduces a succession of five dactyls. Cf. Serv. *cent. metr.* (iv 461 Keil), stesichoreum constat pentametro catalectico, ut est hoc: –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏓.

4–5 **ἀφίκηθ'** ... **ἐρεμνᾶς**. Helios is preparing to travel back East and this is done by travelling around the edges of the earth across Okeanos. ποτὶ (4) suggests that his journey begins eastward as he is going *towards* the depths of holy, dark night: if the sun is setting in the West, the deepest and darkest point in the sky is the East. Cf. Mimn. fr. 11.4–12.4; Σ. (T) *Il.*23.295b; Hyg. *F.*183; Herakles 2545; Helios 2. **ἱαρᾶς**: originally 'strong, lively' as in Hom. *Od.*8.421, but here, as often in Homer it means 'holy', and so qualifies νυκτὸς. For the development from 'strong' to 'holy' vid. Szemerényi 1991.1746. Cf. Welsh *nwyf* 'energy' and Gothic *weihs* 'holy'. **νυ-|κτὸς** is a partitive genitive. Νύξ originally meaning 'dusk', P.I.E. **nek^{w}*, 'getting dark', and so strictly refers to the coming of night. Cf. Hom. *Od.*7.283–284; Alcm. *P.Louvre* E.3320.62; A. *Eu.*108, *Heliae* 469f= *TrGF* 23; et E. *Ion.*82–85; *RV* 10.110.6. **ἐρεμνᾶς**: ἐ + ρεβ + adjectival suffix -νο-, > β before ν is assimilated to μ. Vid. Schwyzer 1953.I.489.1, Risch 1974.35d.

ἀφίκηθ' ἱαρᾶς ποτὶ βένθεα νυ-|κτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς: as with the reading of lines 2 and 3 supra, word endings are avoided in lines 4–5, reading thus: ⏔⁞-⁞⏑⏑-⁞⏔-⁀⏑⏑-⁀⏑⏑--‖. There is an exception to the first bridge with the second longum in *Gery.* fr. 7.24–25's ἐξ-|οπίσω, -⏑⏑-⁞. **νυκτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς**: cf. Hom. *Od.*11.606 ὁ δ' ἐρεμνῇ νυκτὶ ἐοικώς; *Il.*11.209 = 17.455, κνέφας ἱερὸν.

6 ποτὶ: ⏔⁝. In apposition to ποτὶ βένθεα … at line four. The repetition of ποτὶ opens a lengthy period of fourteen dactyls. The repetition of prepositions is common enough in Greek verse, e.g. Hom. *Od.*13.109–111; S. *O.T.*10, *Ph.*468–469. Cf. Theoc.26.5–6. This series of dactyls, as with the second period in the epode, makes up the longest run in the poem. Comparable too is the opening run of dactyls in the anti/strophe of Stesichoros's partly reconstructed *Boar Hunters* (222 = P.Oxy.2359 col. i.1–5): πέντε γ]ὰρ ὀψιγόνοι τε καὶ ἀσπασί-|οι μένο]ν ἐν μεγάρ[ο]ισιν· ἀτὰρ πόδας|ἀνορέα]ν τ' ἀ̣γαθοὶ̣ Προκάων Κλυτί-|ος τε νεέ]σθαν·, sic 14 $da_{\wedge}$.

ματέρα. There are no stories or known functions of Theia, Helios's mother, only that she was the daughter of Ouranos (Hes.*Th.*135). By Hyperion she bore three children: Helios, Selene and Eos (Hes.*Th.*371–372). Helios's lawful wife (ἄ-λοχος, the prefix -ἁ, which according to Grassmann's law loses its rough breathing when the second member of the compound has an aspirate) is copulative, and so 'one and the same', λέχος, λόχος, lectus, lying, thus bed-mate. Cf. Goth. ligan, *to lie down*) was Perseis, daughter of Okeanos. According to Hesiod (*Th.*956–957), Helios married Perseis and their union produced two children. **κουριδίαν**, 'wedded/noble', appears frequently in epic: of Klytaimnestra (Hom. *Il.*1.114), of Helen (13.626), of Briseïs (19.298), of Aphrodite (*h. Aph.*127, 17), and in lyric, of Penelope (Thgn.1.1126), of Timarchos's wife (Simon. *Epi.*7.515.4). Cf. Callin. fr. 1.7, κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου. Also Hom. *Il.*5.480. **τ' ἄλοχον**: the elision of the monosyllable here corresponds with *Gery.* fr. 12 col. i.14's δ' ἀπὸ κρα-|, falling on the third foot of the fourteen dactyls that close the anti/strophe: its position is similar to that of *Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.6, ⏔⁝-⏑⏑-|⏔⁝-⁝ δ' ὅ γ' ἐπι-|.

7 **παίδας τε φίλους**: following this is the expected caesura after the first syllable of the sixth foot, ⏔-⏑⏑-|. The *Odyssey* scholiast attributes four children to Helios—Phaethon, Lampetie, Pheathousa and Aigle—all born to the daughter of Asopos (Σ *Od.*17.208). Hyperion and Theia's second child Selene, like her father, had a chariot in which she travelled the night sky at the time of a full moon (*h. sele* 9–13). In Homer, Helios has two daughters by Neaira: Phaethousa and Lampetie, who shepherd their father's ageless sheep and cattle in Thrinakia (*Od* 12.127–136). In Eumelos's account, Helios's children were Aietes and Aiolos, this time from the union with Antiope (fr. 3 *PEG*). Cf. Sol.23.1, ὄλβιος ᾧ παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι.

8–9 ὁ δ’ ἐς ἄλσος … παῖς Διὸς ἐΰς: the article is demonstrative when followed by a noun in apposition, ‘while *he*, the son of Zeus went on foot into the grove shaded with laurels’. Cf. Pi. *O.*11.19–20, 12.6–7; S. *Aj.*780–782; E. *El.*781; Bakch.15.57–59. **παῖς Διὸς ἐΰς** is the predicate of ὁ: Stesichoros’s placement of it after the verb is well attested in earlier poetry and common in later choral lyric, e.g. Hom. *Od.*13.165–166, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ’ ἀγόρευον|Φαίηκες δολιχήρετμοι ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες; Pi. *P.*8.48, ὁ δὲ καμὼν προτέρᾳ πάθᾳ|νῦν ἀρείονος ἐνέχεται|ὄρνιχος ἀγγελίᾳ|Ἄδραστος ἥρως. Cf. *RV* 1.132.3. Vid. Watkins 2002.423–425.

ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα δάφναισι. Having safely crossed the expanse of water to Erytheia, Herakles enters a grove of laurel trees, perhaps to offer prayers of thanks to some deity. Vid. Huxley 1967; Herakles 2536a, 2537, 2543. Cf. *De Audibilibus* 843b15–844a5. Groves of natural beauty were used as places of worship, e.g. [Hes]. *Sc.*99; *Od.*6.291; Sapph. fr. 2; Hdt.5.119. The passage is reminiscent of *Od.*10.508–510: ἀλλ’ ὁπότ’ ἂν δὴ νηὶ δι’ Ὠκεανοῖο περήσῃς,|ἔνθ’ ἀκτή τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης,|μακραί τ’ αἴγειροι καὶ ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι. Cf. A.R.1.1188, βῆ ἴμεν εἰς ὕλην υἱὸς Διός. **δάφναισι**: instrumental dative.

8–9 κατάσκιον: the only non-Homeric word in the passage. The only other occurrences of the word in the Archaic period are: Hes. *Op.*512–513; Ibyc.286.3–6; Pi. *Pae.*6.137–139; it is more common in the Classical period, e.g., A. *Ag.*493–494; S. *El.*421–423; Hdt.2.138. Cf. Verg. *Aen.*1.441, Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae; *G.*2.112, litora myrtetis laetissima.

9 -σκιον: up to this point the metre looks fine. In order for the last position of -σκιον to scan short a vowel must follow. The simple insertion of the adverbial ὦκα allows the dactyls to continue. Some additional tinkering, however, is needed, firstly: the loss of a sigma in the codex’s ποσσὶ, and also the adding of a ν to make the final syllable long. To complete the line ἐΰς slots in neatly to occupy the final two positions. Its place before a pause is attested in Homer (e.g. *Il.*13.691). **ποσὶν** confirms Herakles’s arrival on dry land. The instrumental dative frequently appears in epic with verbs of motion, e.g. *Il.*8.389, 18.572, 21.269, 23.622–623, 636; *Od.*6.39–40, 318; Hes. *Th.*3–4. Cf. Theoc.13.75 πεζᾶι δ’ ἐς Κόλχους τε καὶ ἄξενον ἵκετο [Herakles] Φᾶσιν. **παῖς Διὸς**: the epithet appears on a small Black-Figure amphora that shows Herakles fighting Kyknos

(Ariadne 25). Cf. S. *Ph.*802, τὸν τοῦ Διὸς παῖδ'; S. *Tr.*19, ὁ κλεινὸς ἦλθε Ζηνὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε παῖς.

Fr. 2 = P.Oxy. 2617

Verse: Lines 1–4 = Epode 1–4

Recovering the sense of this fragment is problematic. What remains reveals very little of the context, and its interpretation seems to hang on the identification of the ὠκυπέτα̣[who presumably are]άξαν ἐπ[ὶ] χθόνα̣·. The most obvious choice is Helios's horses (as etymology suggests, viz. ἵππος, Ionic ἴκκος, from **i-k̄wo*, 'swift') which, after all, travel over the earth every day: if ὠ[]κυπέτα̣[is connected syntactically with]άξαν ἐπ[ὶ] χθόνα̣, it seems the fragment contains some description of Helios's daily journey, thus placing it somewhere near fr. 1. Lerza (1978.85–86) positions the fragment between fr. 12 col. I and col. ii. This arrangement is followed by Lazzeri's claiming that 'il fr. S. 21 [fr. 2] viene qui considerato parte dei versi che raccontano lo scontro tra Eracle e Gerione, di cui si leggono le mosse iniziali nel fr. S. 15 col. I.' Assertions such as this linking fr. 2 with frr. 12 col. i. and col. ii are based on the interpretation that ὠκυπέτα̣[ι is a reference to some death spirit (vid. infra). Some credence might be given to this view, despite the fact that it is not an obvious one. Lerza's supplement on line one καὶ τὰ]ν (1978.86) refers to Geryon's helmet in fr. 12 col. i, 'Esso dunque (*scil.* l'elmo) le deed al veloce volo.' Her claim, however, that fr. 2 slips between the two columns of fr. 12 is a very bold one. The fragment is quite badly damaged and so the metrical schema is somewhat tentative. The ending of line two is intact and shows a short line. The end of line three is marked on the papyrus with a *mese stigma* denoting a pause and so, despite the fragment's brevity, it is possible that line one is the opening of an epode. This is what Lerza et al. have read. However, it still does not support his positioning of the fragment after the first column of fr. 12.

1 ⏑ -] . **ε̣ν̣ες**. Many of the supplements put forward are based on dubious letters, and the idea that the fragment refers to Geryon's death. This is founded on the belief that ὠκυπέτα̣[is some epithet of an actual/symbolic death spirit which manifests itself as Geryon approaches his death. This is not impossible. For example, in offering δαί]μονες, Lerza believes ὠκυπέτα̣[ι can only refer to winged female daimones. Lazzeri provides

δολιό]φρονες. This is conceivable, as Herakles does seem to employ deceit against the monster (*Gery*. fr. 12 col. ii.7–9). Irvine is more elaborate in his interpretation of his δαμασί]φρονες, believing it refers to the Keres (vid. infra).

ὠκυπέτα̣['swift-flying or running'. The form appears only twice in Homer, on both occasions referring to horses (*Il.*8.41–42 = 13.23–24): ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ' ἵππω,|ὠκυπέτα. This perhaps strengthens the opening proposal that ὠκυπέτ̣α̣[refers to the horses. For Irvine (1997) the ὠκυπέτα[ι 'swift flyers' are the Keres: he places fr. 2 after fr. 6, seeing it as an appropriate time for the Keres to appear. Their presence in the *Geryoneis* is plausible. They are closely linked with the Moirai, and in Homer are synonymous with death (Hom. *Il.*2.301–302) and fated destruction (Hom. *Od.*17.546–547). Thus the Keres appear at times of furious battle and when death is imminent. It is not impossible that Stesichoros used this Homeric motif to herald the death of Geryon.

2 Supplements for the line are similar in theme, i.e. Geryon's doom (⏑⏑–⁝⏓–⏑]):

a). ῥά γε πικρὸν ὄλεθρ]ον (Lerza).
b). τόκα Μοῖραι πότμ]ον (Lazzeri).
c). ῥέπον αἶψα τάλαντ]ον (Irvine).

The first problem with all three supplements is that there is no evidence supporting the omicron before the nu. The correct reading of the line is thus:]γ̣εχοισ̣αι. This not does invalidate the reconstructions, but the reading of the omicron has obviously influenced their supplements. Not one of these observes the expected caesura in the fifth dactyl. Lerza's restoration is presumably inspired by *Gery*. fr. 12 col. i.11; the repetition of πικρὸν ὄλεθρον is possible, but not desirable. Lazzeri prefers the notion of the Moirai being present at the death of Geryon. Hektor's fate was spun by one of the Moirai at his birth (*Il.*24.209); if the goddesses spun Geryon's fate at his birth, as they did at Hektor's, their presence would be welcomed at his death. As Geryon looks to be legitimate in his defence of the cattle it seems unlikely that the Moirai would be pursuing him for transgression. Irvine's supplement refers to the balancing of the Keres, as in Homer (*Il.*8.69–74, 16.658, 22.209–212) where the weighing of the two dooms functions as a poetic device. **ἐχοίσαι**. If the subject of ὠκυπέτ̣α̣[ι is the Keres, ἐχοίσαι could refer

to their feet carrying off the wounded or slain. Cf. *Il.*18.535–537. The accent over the iota is Doric accentuation, viz. paroxytone accents on proparoxytone forms.

3 As with the reading of line two, the supplements here are based on very dubious letters. The evidence for the proposed epsilon is very slight.

a). ἐπ[λ]άξαν 'struck' (Lerza).
b). πίπτοντ' ἀμφ]επ[ι]άξαν 'squeezed around him as he fell' (Lazzeri).
c). Γαρυόνα καὶ] ἐπ[λ]άξαν 'Geryon and struck him' (Irvine).
d). ἐπτ[ά]ξαν 'alarmed' (Lobel).

Lerza's suggestion is possible, as Geryon loses a head to Herakles, and the verb is often used in Homer in response to a direct blow, often by weapons (*Od.*10.161–162 et al.). Lazzeri's reconstruction is metrically sound; however, its expression is odd and has no parallel. Irvine's supplement is also possible, making the Keres the subject of the verb: one possible fault is the correption, as there is no evidence for it in this position. Lobel's is plausible if Geryon has taken flight from the battle.

3–4 **ἐπ[ὶ] χθόνα̣ … η κεφαλὰ**. Lobel's ἐπ[ὶ] is secure: nothing else looks possible. Cf. *Il.*8.492, ἐξ ἵππων δ' ἀποβάντες ἐπὶ χθόνα μῦθον ἄκουον; 11.619, αὐτοὶ μέν ῥ' ἀπέβησαν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν. Also: *Il.*20.483; 3.89; 13.80; 4.443; 1.88; *Od.*8.222; 6.153; S. *Tr.*811.

5 From].σω̣α.[.]ε...[, Ferrari reads ἄγ[γ]ελ̣ο̣ν̣. How this fits in with the rest of the fragment is unknown. Ferrari himself writes (1976.42): 'è impossibile naturalmente precisare il rapporto tra questo eventuale ἄγγελος e il resto del frammento.' There may well have been an emissary somewhere in the *Geryoneis*, but its presence not obvious, certainly not from].σω̣α.[.]ε...[. Ferrari's supplement is then better disregarded.

Fr. 3 = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 6 (a) + (b)

Verse: Lines 1–6 = Anti/strophe 2–7

A good deal of uncertainty surrounds this fragment. Firstly is the mention of the Hesperides. It is not obvious why these goddesses should be included in a song about Geryon. It is true that both the Hesperides and the monster were found in the Far-West, and so some reference or allusion to these goddesses during the *Geryoneis* might be expected.

References to Herakles's other labours do appear in some other fragments, e.g. fr. 12 with the Hydra, and in fr. 16 with Pholos. Both of these probably come from the *Geryoneis*: the first, the largest fragment of P.Oxy.2617, almost certainly does. The Pholos episode is quoted by Athenaios who says this is from Stesichoros's *Geryoneis*. These seem secure. Fr. 3, however, is not. There is no reference or allusion to either Herakles or Geryon. The only proper name in the passage is of course the Hesperides. As already stated,[4] the fragments of P.Oxy. 2617 were selected on grounds of their distinctive handwriting, and not because there was any physical evidence or common theme that could unite them. This reference to the Hesperides may be in itself enough to indicate the presence of another song in the pool of fragments. No other version of the Geryon myth gives any account of the goddesses in the story, so why should Stesichoros? If it is the case that fr. 3 is all that is left of another song, then obviously it has no place here in the commentary. There is no need to be overly pessimistic, although it seems unlikely that Herakles during the course of the *Geryoneis* actually travels to the Hesperides. If the fragment, however, is part of the song it is probably an allusion to the hero's visit to the island where the goddesses reside in order to obtain the apples. The other problem is the relationship between pieces (a) and (b). Lobel briefly comments on their association (1967.7), 'The cross-fibres fix the relative levels of (a) and (b). There is no external evidence about the interval between them.' So Lobel, by observing the same pattern of the prominent fibres on the front of (a) and (b), believed that the two pieces belonged at the same level in the same *kollema* of the roll. The external evidence regarding the distance between the two cannot be established because the width of the *kollemata* in this roll are not known. In some rolls *kollemata* typically measure 20–25 cms. wide.[5] Since (b) preserves the upper margin, the first line in each fragment could be the first line of a column. However, the physical evidence cannot prove whether (a) came to the left or to the right of (b) or whether (a) and (b) both came from the same column, and if they did, how much is lost between them.

1 Despite some damage to the papyrus the line has been restored reasonably well with line two's word break and the expected caesura in the third dactyl observed, sic ⏗]⁝-⏑⏑⏑-|⏗⁝-⁝⏑⏑⏑-. ⏑⏑] **κ̣[ύμ]αθ'**. Both

[4] Vid. p. 56.
[5] Vid. Johnson 2004.88–91.

supplements διὰ and ἐπὶ fit metrically. The former διὰ + accusative of place fits the sense of travelling 'through' the waves. ἐπὶ + accusative denotes the notion of extension/expanse, 'travelling *over* the waves'. Both forms are acceptable; neither distorts the sense of the verse. The latter is more favourable as it appears in Homer with greater frequency, e.g. *Il.*13.26–27, *Od.*5.51: cf. Alkm. fr. 26.1.3; Pi. *Pae.*fr. 52; S. fr. 285.1; A.R.1.554, 2.680, 4.954. Lobel's κ̣[ύμ]αθ' fits both metre and context. Cf. Hes. fr. 204.60 βῆ ὑπὲρ Ὠγυλίου πόντου διὰ κῦμα κελαι[νὸν; also *Od.*5.363, αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δή μοι σχεδίην διὰ κῦμα τινάξῃ; Mim.12.5, Hecat.102c.7, S. fr. 271.5.

ἁλὸς: genitive of the root noun 'salt' often used as a metonym for the sea (e.g. *Il.*1.141; *Od.*2.261). ἁλὸς is qualified by Barrett's epithet [βαθέα]ς. Cf. Pi. *P.*5.88 ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν; Bakch.3.62 βαθείας ἁλός; Hom. *Il.*20.229 ἁλὸς πολιοῖο; *Il.*21.59 πόντος ἁλός. [**βαθέα**]**ς**: Davies's (1991.154) text records Barrett's reading β̣α̣θ̣έ̣α̣ς̣. There is very little evidence to support this and so it is better read as a supplement. **ἀφίκον-|το**: Webster (1968.4) suggests that the verb refers to Herakles and Iolaos. This seems quite likely: although many accounts of Herakles's voyage to the Hesperides state that he went alone, there are examples where Herakles is accompanied by Iolaos in the West (e.g. Eurytion II 44). Cf. Calvo Martinez 1974.329. For sea voyages in lyric poetry vid. Mace 2001. 185–191. Robertson (1969.216) claims the party travelling is the infant Eurytion with his mother, Erytheia, who was one of the Hesperides. He offers a reconstruction of events based on paradigms from other myths: Eurytion as a child travelled home in a boat with his mother Erytheia to the home of the Hesperides. The fragment may belong to Eurytion's death in the *Geryoneis*. In Homer, when Simoeisios is killed by Aias the details of the youth's birth and mother are given, *Il.*4.473–476. Davies (1979.125) suggests that the reference to Eurytion's birthplace was part of some digression in the *Geryoneis* during the description of Eurytion's slaying by Herakles. Such anecdotes relating the deaths of minor heroes are common in Homer: of Satnios, *Il.*14.444–445; of Iphition, *Il.*20.382–385; the twin brothers Aisepos and Pedasos, (*Il.*6.21–22). There are other options: the horses of Helios, having pulled the god all day, start to land in the West, crossing the waves of the sea. Barrett (1968) thinks ἀφίκοντο are Herakles and the cattle. The latter seems unlikely despite many examples of iconography showing Herakles with the cattle in the vessel (e.g. Herakles 2533), for if Herakles had possession of the cattle he would surely be heading back East and not

towards the Hesperides. The idea that Eurytion traverses the waves with his mother is fantasy. Its improbability is strengthened by the fact that Eurytion is never seen on the water, only as he dies (e.g. Geryoneus 13).

2] ̣**σον**: many editions (e.g. Page's) print ν]ᾶ̣σ̣ον which is dubious. Lobel writes (1967.8): 'ν]ᾶσον is prima facie irreconcilable with the ink, but the surface is partly stripped as well as the ink blurred and I feel some confidence that this word was meant.' In front of the sigma is a tiny horizontal stroke, resembling the top bar of a gamma or tau, even a pi. Its position on the line suggests that it is too low to be an accent, and so has to be a letter. What remains of this character does not indicate an alpha, and so, although ν]ᾶσον is attractive and despite Lobel's confidence, it cannot stand. This is a disappointment because the overall reconstruction of the fragment looked very convincing. The letter before the omicron has suffered some damage, one might then replace the proposed sigma with an epsilon which opens up new possibilities, e.g. τεόν, or ἐτεόν, even ἰτέον (+ dat.). This substitution of letters helps a bit. As ν]ᾶ̣σ̣ον cannot stand, something ingenious is needed in order to reconcile] ̣σον in the text. One very easy solution to this problem is that (a) and (b) were never joined. This need not upset the reconstruction of the fragment as most of the text is in (a). Its sense can still stand, only rather than attaching (b) to (a), (a) can be supplemented further. In fact this would actually solve some problems, because no account would need to be given for the troublesome ἀφίκον-|το on the line above.

Despite many of the *Geryoneis* fragments being very scrappy and meagre, there are traces of homeoteleuton. Not only here with lines 1 … Ἐρυθείας and 3 … Ταρτησ-; but also on lines 1 and 2 of *Gery.* fr. 3, … ἀφίκον-, …] ̣σον; and *Gery.* fr. 12 col. i.5 … διέλε̣[ν, 6 …]ν·, 7 … εἶν, 8 … πολεμε[ῖν. However, by far the best illustration of rhyming line-endings comes from Stesichoros's *Thebaid* (222A.201–212):

ἐ̣π᾽ ἄλγεσι μὴ χαλεπὰς ποίε̣ι̣ μ̣ε̣ρ̣ίμνας A
μηδέ μοι ἐξοπίσω B
πρόφαινε ἐλπίδας βαρείας. A
οὔτε γὰρ αἰὲν ὁμῶς B
θεοὶ θέσαν ἀθάνατοι κατ᾽ αἶαν ἱ̣ρ̣ὰν
νεῖκος ἔμπεδον βροτοῖσιν C
οὐδέ γα μὰν φιλότατ᾽, ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἀ̣μ̣έ̣ρ̣α̣ι̣ ἐ̣ν̣ νόο̣ν̣ ἄ̣λ̣λ̣ο̣ν̣ D

ϑεọὶ τιϑεῖσι. C
μαντοσύνας δὲ τεὰς ἄναξ ẹκ̣ά̣ẹρỵọς Ἀπόλλων D
μὴ πάσας τέλεσσαι. E
αἰ δέ με παίδας ἰδέσϑαι ụπ̣' ἀ̣λ̣λ̣ά̣λ̣ọι̣σ̣⟨ι⟩ δ̣αμ̣έ̣ντας
μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, ἐπεκλώσαν δὲ Μ̣ọί̣ρ̣α̣[ι] E

This form of rhyme is reasonably common in epic and tragedy. For good examples of homeoteleuton vid. Hom. *Il.*15.688–692, A. *Sept.*900–905, Soph. *Aj.*806–808.

2 το ϑ]. Because the final ν of the preceding line is certain there is no alternative for Page's το: the theta in ϑ]ẹῶν looks safe. **περικαλλέ**[**α**. A common compound in epic poetry: περι + καλλέ[α, the first element has an intensive force, and so, 'very beautiful'. In Homer it is used to describe mostly things: *Il.*1.603, 3.421, 4.486, 8.249; *Od.*1.153, 2.117, 8.420, 22.438; occasionally of women: *Il.*5.389, 16.85; *Od.*11.281; of men only in *h. Herm.*323, 397, 504; of a man's eyes *Od.*13.401, 433. **περικαλλέ**[**α**] ̣**σον**. Cf. Stesich.222A. 276, περικαλλέα κọ[ύραν; Hdt.7.5 ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς εἴη χώρη.

3 τ]**όϑι**: these double shorts make up the anacrusis that introduces a series of five dactyls. Cf. the opening of the strophe in Pindar's Olympian 7 (77): **τόϑι**⁝--|-⏑⏑-|--||-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-||. Frequently in Homer (e.g. *Il.*8.229) the relative is omitted and replaced by an adverb with a relative force, '*there*, or *in that place*, the Hesperides have their homes', i.e. the West: cf. *Od.*15.239, τόϑι γάρ νύ οἱ αἴσιμον ἦεν|ναιέμεναι πολλοῖσιν ἀνάσσοντ' Ἀργείοισιν; *h. Ap.*244–245, τόϑι τοι ἅδε χῶρος ἀπήμων|τεύξασϑαι νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα; Pi. *P.*9.59–60, τόϑι παῖδα τέξεται, ὃν κλυτὸς Ἑρμᾶς|εὐϑρόνοις Ὥραισι καὶ Γαίᾳ. The hiatus suggests that the digamma is observed here, sic τ]όϑι (ϝ)Ἑσπερίδες. Cf. I.D. *wespero*; Lat. *vesper*.

Ἑσπερίδες: many accounts concerning the location of the Hesperides place them in the Far-West. References to their home are often vague and difficult to pinpoint geographically. Hesiod (*Th.*517–520) says that Atlas held up the wide heavens at the borders of the earth near the Hesperides; Mimnermos (12.8 W) just says that they lived in the West; in Euripides (*Hipp.*742–747; *H.F.*396) the apple-bearing shore of the Hesperides is in the Far-West by the pillar held up by Atlas; in Pherekydes's account (3F16) the garden of the Hesperides is beside Mount Atlas; in Apollonius

Rhodius (4.1396–449: cf. Σ.4.1396) the goddesses are located in Libya; Apollodoros (2.5.11) claims that their home was among the Hyperboreans, a legendary race of Apollo-worshippers living in the far north (cf. Hes. fr. 150.21 ff.).

π[αγχϙ]ύ̣σεα, scans ⏔ - ⏑ ⏑, the contracted position in the supplement is permissible: cf. S. 14.6's μεμναμένος ἅ̣[ν, sic ⏔ - ⏑ ⏑ -.]**ύ̣σεα**: - ⏑ ⏑ none of the uncontracted terminations in the *Geryoneis* is in synizesis. π[αγχϙ]ύ̣σεα: most of the παν compounds in Stesichoros have an intensive force. In Hesiod (*Th.*335) the apples of the Hesperides were παγχϱύσεα μῆλα. Cf. Ibyc.182.4 Ἑσ]περίδω̣[ν, 5 χ]ϱύσεα[. For other golden houses vid. Hom. *Il.*4.1–2, 13.21–22; Pi. *N.*10.88, *I.*3.78; E. *Hipp.*69, *Heracl.*915–916, *Ion* 459.

4] **ἔ̣χ̣οντι**: Doric for Attic ἔχουσι. The verb is often used to indicate the place of residence of a god or gods, or his/their frequented locale. The reconstructed δώ-|μα]τ̣' ἔ̣χ̣οντι, finishes off neatly the third period of the anti/strophe, sic -|⏑]⏑ - -‖. δώμα]τ̣' ἔ̣χ̣οντι in this position is a modification of the formulaic ending so common in epic poetry, e.g. Hes. *Th.*963 - ⏔ - ⏔ - ⏑⁝⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ δώματ' ἔχοντες, *Op.*110; Hom. *Il.*1.18, 2.13, 2.30 et al. **6]λύκ** ̣[: Barrett reads]α̣λύκω̣[and offers κ]α̣λύκω̣[ν, 'flower buds'. Barrett's supplement is dubious, as are πο]λύκε̣[στος (cf. Hom. *Il.*3.371), γ]λυκε̣[ϱός (cf. *Il.*10.4),]λυκέ̣[ην (cf. *Il.*10.459), πο]λυκο̣[ιϱανίη (cf. *Il.*2.204),]λύκο̣[ι (cf. *Il.*4.471), et al.

Fr. 4 = P.Oxy.2617 fr. 31

The fragment perhaps refers to the killing of Orthos, and so should be placed early in the poem before Herakles's fight with Geryon. This is nothing more than a guess; it could belong almost anywhere in this song. Page (1974.12) proposes that it was part of the main battle scene, 'fortasse ex eodem contextu ac S. 15 [fr. 12]'. This is possible, but trying to place such a tiny fragment within any sequence is hopeless; it is difficult enough to do so with the larger pieces. Cf. Webster 1968.5; Lerza 1981.24.n. 27; De Martino 1982b.93–94. Due to the small size of this fragment its position within the metrical scheme is impossible to ascertain. The mention of the club could refer either to some conflict, or to the rounding-up of the cattle.

δεύτε[ϱο. The ending of the word is lost. δεύτε[ϱο 'second' or 'next' may refer to one of Orthos's two heads, or even Geryon's. An adverbial form/sense is also possible, 'next', or 'afterwards'. Cf. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1990.11; Konomis 1991.154. Quintus Smyrnaeus offers the best account of the closing stages of the fight between Geryon and Herakles (6.249–255): Ἐν δὲ καὶ ἀκαμάτοιο δέμας πέλε Γηρυονῆος|τεθναότος παρὰ βουσί· καρήατα δ' ἐν κονίῃσιν|αἱματόεντα κέχυντο βίῃ ῥοπάλοιο δαμέντα·|πρόσθε δέ οἱ δέδμητο κύων ὀλοώτατος ἄλλων|Ὄρθρος, ἀνιηρῷ ἐναλίγκιος ὄβριμον ἀλκὴν|Κερβέρῳ, ὅς ῥά οἱ ἔσκεν ἀδελφεός· ἀμφὶ δ' ἔκειτο|βουκόλος Εὐρυτίων μεμορυγμένος αἵματι πολλῷ. The passage shows Geryon with all three heads dead on the ground, beaten down by the force of Herakles's club. This entry helps to corroborate Herakles's deployment of his mighty club in the labour. Philostratos (*VA*.6.10) says that, as with the Hydra and Nessos, Herakles killed Geryon by cutting off his heads; Oppian (*C*.11.111.2), Herakles fought Geryon beside the ocean and slew him amid the crags on the shore.

δὲ δεύτε[ϱο: with the particle in this position, δεύτεϱο appears four times in Homer, on three occasions in battle, *Il*.3.346–350, 10.368, 17.45. Cf. Tyrt. fr. 2.3; Alcm. fr. 1.1.58; A. fr.A67.7.

ῥόπαλον: as with the lionskin, the club is one of Herakles's more common attributes and no doubt pertains to him here. Herakles's use of the club on Geryon is well attested in the Archaic period, e.g. Herakles 2473, 2485, 2497, 2502, 2506. Later Roman sources depicting the fight do not offer a great deal of variation from the earlier Greek paradigms of the battle: Herakles is frequently portrayed naked and holding a club (Herakles 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522), and Geryon with one body and three heads (Geryoneus 17, 21, 22, 25; Herakles 2503) collapsing under Herakles's club (Herakles 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527). One departure from the Greek schema is the emphasis some Roman art places on the size of Herakles in relation to Geryon: a marble relief from the Vatican (Geryoneus 20) shows a giant Herakles holding his club aloft set to strike a tiny Geryon.

Fr. 5 = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 25

Verse: Lines 1–4 = Anti/strophe 5–8

Once again, due to the sparseness of the fragment, the context is obscure. The partial reconstruction does not add much. The vocative case reveals some sort of monologue or dialogue. Talk normally precedes action, and so it seems appropriate to place this fragment before the battle.

1–2 **ἀλ]γ̣ινόεντος**: 'grievous', as in Hes. *Th.*226; Nic. *Ther.*769. Also possible is ἀργινόεντος 'shining', an epithet of Lykastos in Krete (*Il.*2.647; 2.656).

3 **ἀλλ'**: not knowing what came before this tiny fragment obscures its force, possibly some expression of objection. Cf. Denniston 1954.8. **ὦ φίλε**: perhaps Geryon is being addressed here. Page (1973.145) thinks by Menoites, who is urging Geryon not to be forgetful of his parents (Barrett *ap.* Page 1974.7), ne parentum immemor sit Geryoni suadet Menoites. Cf. Gentili 1976.747; De Martino 1982b.84. [**Καλλιρόαν**]: according to Hesiod, Kallirrhoe was one of the daughters of Okeanos (*Th.*351) and bore the three-headed Geryon (*Th.*287–294). References to Kallirrhoe and Chrysaor are few; they appear only as the parents of Geryon. Vid. Hes. *Th.*288, 351, 981; Hom. *h.Cer.*419. Cf. Apollod.2.4.2, 2.5.10; Tz.*L.*651, *Lyc.*17; Hyg. *praef.f.*30.151, *extr.f.*111; Lucr.5.28; D.S.4.17.18. There is one possible exception to these: in a badly damaged fragment of an Ibykos (S. 166. fr. 1 col. viii.17–18) text Chrysaor and Geryon appear in what looks like a battle scene against Herakles.

4 **ἀρηίφιλ̣ο̣[ν**: frequently in Homer, e.g. *Il.*2.778. Its function may be just generic. Next to καὶ it occupies the seventh line of the anti/strophe. Cf. Bakch.1.120, 5.166, 15.50; S. 148.7.

5 **Χρ̣υσάο̣ρ̣α̣**. The only reference to Chrysaor prior to Stesichoros comes from Hesiod, who says that after the beheading of Medousa, Chrysaor together with the horse Pegasos sprang from the Gorgon's neck (*Th* 325). The earliest visual source showing the birth of Chrysaor is a bronze relief dated about 670 BCE from Thebes (Gorgo 290) which shows Perseus averting his face from the glare of Medousa with his sword placed on her neck; a tiny Chrysaor is seen flying behind his mother (cf. 291, 292). One 6th century relief (Gorgon 310a) shows Perseus riding the magical horse Pegasos whilst holding the decapitated head of Medousa; beneath them is Chrysaor who emerges from the body of the slain Gorgon. Other later Attic 5th and 4th century vase paintings (Gorgo 320, 322, 323, 325) show

little variation in the formula. For the etymology of χρυσάωρ vid. Janko 1978.192–195.

Fr. 6 = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 11

Verse: Line 1 = Antistrophe 9
Lines 2–9 = Epode 1–8
Lines 10–13 = Strophe 1–4

Possibly Kallirrhoe is the speaker in the fragment. Who else would be pleading with Geryon and baring a breast? If Kallirrhoe is beseeching Geryon not to fight Herakles, the most obvious parallel to this is Hekabe's plea to Hektor (Hom. *Il.*22.79–92). Cf. Geryoneus 2470, 2473.

1 **ᾤ]μω̣[ξέν**. A loud groan to begin her supplication to her son, begging him not to do battle with Herakles. Cf. Hom. *Il.*12.162 ff.

2 As an opening for the epode one might consider Castellaneta's ὦ τέκνον]. Cf. E. *IA*.1276–1278. **ἐ]γὼν̣**. Always appearing with its paragogic suffix, S. 102.3 et S. 104.8, 11, 209 col. i. 10, 222A.219. [**μελέ]α**: translated here as 'miserable', now that Kallirrhoe realises she is to lose her only child. Cf. S. *Tr.*971 οἴμοι ἐγὼ σοῦ, πάτερ, ὢ μέλεος; E. *IT*.868 ὦ μελέα δεινᾶς τόλμας.

3 **καὶ ἀλασ-[|τοτόκος κ]αὶ ἄλ̣[αστα**: both adjectives are predicative. Barrett's supplement [|τοτόκος is convincing, satisfying both context and metre, also observing the expected caesura in the fifth dactyls, sic ⏑⏑–]:.

ἄλ̣[αστα π]α̣θοῖσα·: 'suffering things unforgettable'. Because the principal verb is missing it is difficult to establish what this aorist participle is expressing here. If the action of the participle is antecedent, 'the unforgettable things' which Kallirrhoe suffers, cannot refer to Geryon's death as she beseeches the monster in the next line. It could, however, refer to the actual theft of the cattle and even the slaying of Eurytion. If its action is coincident with the main verb, Kallirrhoe could be watching the battle between Geryon and Herakles, and so begs him to stop or flee. What is ἄλ̣[αστα for Kallirrhoe then is for her actually to witness the killing of her offspring. Alternatively, the participle could have some ingressive force. In epic ἄλαστος normally with the epithet of πένθος or ἄχος, e.g. Hom.

*Il.*24.105; *Od.*4.108. Cf. Bakch.3.34–35 ἄλα̣[στον|ϑ]υ̣[γ]α̣τράσι δυρομέναις; S. *O.C.*361 ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν παϑήμαϑ' ἅπαϑον, πάτερ, et 538 ἔπαϑον ἄλαστ' ἔχειν; Alc.1.34–35 ἄλαστα ἐ|ϝέργα πάσον κακὰ μησαμένοι.

4 The line three of the epode starts a lengthy period of fourteen straight dactyls; this is the only metrical run in the *Geryoneis* that is acatalectic and without anacrusis. Cf. Ibyc.345 (Serv. *Cent. Metr.* de dactylicis (iv 461 Keil)), ibycium constat hexametro acatalecto, ut est hoc: sidera pallida diffugiunt face territa luminis, [sic -⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑]; ibycium constat heptametro acatalecto, ut est hoc: carmina docta Thalia canit, properantius huc ades, o puer, [sic -⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑]. Some sort of connective particle would be welcomed on this line. Both Page's ἀλλά σε Γ] (cf. Hom. *h. Aph.*131–132 ἀλλά σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι ἠδὲ τοκήων ἐσϑλῶν; 187 ἀλλά σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο) and Barrett's νῦν δέ σε Γ] (cf. Hom. *Od.*11.66 νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὄπιϑεν γουνάζομαι, οὐ παρεόντων) are good supplements. The position of ἀλλά suggests a strong adversative force, which would be welcomed if Kallirrhoe is objecting to Geryon's desire to do battle with the mighty Herakles. Less impressive are Castellaneta's πολλά σε, and Austin's τοῦτο σε. Castellaneta's effort apparently gives a 'ancora più accorato il tono della supplica di Calliroe' (2005.38n. 75). The force of ἀλλά, however, is more striking. Austin's τοῦτο is the internal object of the verb, which is not impossible (vid. Hom. *Od.* 2.210). Verbs of beseeching often take a genitive (Vid. Schwyzer II.130). If a connective has to be jettisoned, something in the genitive should replace τοῦτο, 'I beseech you by + genitive'.

4–5 Γ]αρυόνα γωνάζομα[ι|αἴ ποκ' ἐμό]ν τιν μαζ[ὸν] ἐ̣[πέσχεϑον. The context of the reconstruction is supplication, with Kallirrhoe showing her breast as part of her plea. The exposure of breasts was a common expression of distress and lament. Hekabe fears the consequences of Troy falling to the Greeks, and so showing her breasts she pleads with her son to respect and pity her: (*Il.*22.82–85) Ἕκτορ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε τ' αἴδεο καί μ' ἐλέησον|αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαϑικηδέα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον·|τῶν μνῆσαι, φίλε τέκνον, ἄμυνε δὲ δήϊον ἄνδρα|τείχεος ἐντὸς ἐών, μηδὲ πρόμος ἵστασο τούτῳ. Hekabe's gesture to her son serves to symbolise what will happen to her if the city is plundered (cf. Tac. *Germ.*8.1). Kallirrhoe knows if Geryon fights Herakles, her son will be killed. The gesture of exposing breasts frequently appears in tragedy as a last desperate appeal. Cf. A. *Cho.*896–897 (vid. O'Neill 1998); E. *El.*1206–1207, *Or.*527,

839–843, *Ph.*1568, *Andr.*629, *Ion.*761–762; also, Ar. *Lys.*155–156; et Sen. *Troad.*106; App. *Met.*434.4. Cf. Burnett 1998.112–113. Gentili (1977.300) proposes that the scene of Kallirrhoe's plea is the epitasis of a succession of various episodes, a technique he believes was deployed by Pindar (e.g. *P.*8.40–60). This may fortify the tenet that Stesichoros provided a pivotal link in the transition of early epic poetry to later Athenian tragedy (cf. Arrighetti 1980.135, Bremer 1980.365–371). The clasping of knees in supplication is a well-known and old practice: cf. the Hittite *Instr.T.O* (2.65), *gi-e-nu-uš-šu-uš e-ip-zi* [= genua sua capit]. Vid. Gould 1973. Cf. Hom. *Il.*15.665 τῶν ὕπερ ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ γουνάζομαι οὐ παρεόντων |ἑστάμεναι κρατερῶς; *Od.*13.324 νῦν δέ σε πρὸς πατρὸς γουνάζομαι.

5 τιν = σοί: this form does not appear in epic poetry, although common in 'Doric' poetry, e.g. Alcm. fr. 60.1; Pi. *O.*5.7, 6.12, 10.93; Theoc.2.11. Its postpositive position here is unusual.

6 ̣]ω̣μον γ̣[. The metrical placement of these letters in the line is dubious.

8 The epode, and so the triad ends, with a comparatively short sequence of six dactyls. These round off the three stanzas of the movement; anything longer than six or seven would perhaps be too long for a concluding sequence. A run of dactyls shorter than, say, five or six would be too abrupt after a preceding fourteen. Cf. Serv. (iv 462 Keil), stesichoreum constat trimetro acatalecto, ut est hoc: ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–. **φίλαι**: the only supplement proposed to complement this dative comes from Barrett: παρὰ ματρὶ] φίλαι. It fits the context of Kallirrhoe's speech. **γανυθ̣[είς**: Elsewhere an aorist passive form of γάνυμαι is not attested. Cf. *Il.*14.504 ἀνδρὶ φιλῳ ἐλθόντι γανύσσεται.

8–9 [**ὄκα** … **εὐφρ**]**οσύναις**. ἐυφροσύνη appears frequently in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 6.156), usually in juxtaposition with strife and hardship: perhaps then Geryon's joyous birth is contrasted with Kallirrhoe's fear. Cf. 10.464–466 … οὐδέ ποθ' ὑμῖν|θυμὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ πέποσθε.|ὣς ἔφαθ' …; et A. *Pr.*539. **εὐφρ**]**οσύναις**: the termination of this line is so badly damaged εὐφρ]οσύναισιν might also be possible.

10 ⏑–]**δ̣εα**. θυώ]δ̣εα 'smelling of incense, fragrant' is a suitable supplement. In epic the adjective is not attested with πέπλος, but does however

appear with εἵματα, e.g. *Od.*5.264. Cf. Semon. fr. 157.2]ο θυώδεοι[. **πέπλ̣**[⏑⏑-. The epsilon is long before muta cum liquida falling on the arsis.

11]κλυ: Lerza (1981.23) offers an unimpressive partial reconstruction for this line, believing that Kallirrhoe ends her address to Geryon: 'la lettura]κλῦθ̣ι̣ δ̣ε̣ [μου con la quale si conchiuderebbe una fase del discorso che, partito da una calma richiesta di meditazione sullo stato dei fatti, raggiunge l'ἀκμή.'

Fr. 7 = P.Oxy. 2617 frr. 13 (a) +14+15

Verse: Lines 1–4 = Antistrophe 6–9
Lines 5–12 = Epode 1–8
Lines 13–21 = Strophe 1–9
Lines 22–29 = Antistrophe 1–8

Of all the fragments in P.Oxy. 2617 this one is the longest, measuring about fifteen cms, covering twenty-nine verses. It is a strip of papyrus with almost two thirds of its contents missing. Some smaller fragments i.e. P.Oxy. 2617 frr. 14, 15 have been tentatively attached to fr. 7. The context of fr. 7 is not obvious. There is no mention of Geryon, Herakles or any reference to the myth. Its context suggests a speech, the introduction of which is recognisable from the first four lines of the fragment. This looks more or less certain. As the speaker is unidentifiable the actual context is dubious. There appears to be some sort of deliberation; this is expressed by the 'if' clauses of lines eight and sixteen. Apart from this very little can be said with any confidence. Its language is so common and general it would be apposite in almost any Stesichorean song. There is a reference to cattle (27. Geryon's?) and perhaps a mention of Herakles (29), but these are from the smaller fragments of P.Oxy. 2617 frr. 14, 15.

Despite its paucity it has generated much discussion. Page was the first to give some commentary on the fragment. He (1973.149) claimed that the fragment recalls *Il.*12.332–338, where Sarpedon addresses Glaukos. Cf. Hutchinson 2001.119, Segal 1985.193. Admittedly there is some resemblance between the two passages, but the similarity is not striking; how could it be with more than half of the Stesichoros text missing? When one considers the fragment after its reconstruction the similitude is more pronounced, but this, obviously, is due to extensive supplements.

To some extent it is because of these conjectures that some very doubtful arguments, in particular those regarding 'Geryon's dilemma', have been put forward.[6] Also problematic is the belief that this fragment portrays Geryon with a noble heart: there is nothing in the text to indicate this, yet this view is a frequently held one.[7] One has to concede to the fact that the original sense of this fragment is probably lost forever. Some good commentary can still be made and many of the supplements put forward here are certainly worthy of some consideration, but caution should be exercised.

1 χηρσὶν δ̣. An instrumental dative expressing perhaps some gesture of prayer or grief. Cf. Herakles 2488. Striking the head to express despair was common in the ancient world (vid. Reiner, *Die rituale Totenklage*, 42–43, Neumann, *Gesten und Gebarden*, 86). This ritual is performed by Priam prior to starting his speech to Hektor (*Il.*22.33–35). Cf. *Il.*3.362, 23.660, 23.686; *Od.*18.95; et Bakch.3.35–36; 17.71–74. Cf. De Martino 1982.21–24. *χεσρ-: loss of the medial σ results in the lengthening of the preceding vowel, and so Attic χείρ and here Doric χήρ. Cf. Lesb. χέρρας, Old Latin *hir*, Hitt. *ki-eš-šar*. Cf. *Gery*. fr. 9.18. χερὶ.

1 ἀπαμ[ειβόμενος 'answering'. Common in Homer (114×) in responses to speeches, e.g. *Il.*1.84; *Od.*4.824; 8.400; 11.347. Parallels for the reconstructed τὸν|δ' ἀπαμ[ειβόμενος|ποτέφα are easily found in Homer, e.g., *Il.*5.814. Cf Stesich. S. 25.1–2 ὣς ἦνε[πε … ἀπαμε[ιβ-; S. 148. col. i.6 ὣς ἔφα· τ]ὸ̣ν̣ δ' ὧδ' ἀμειβόμενος ποτέει-|πεν Ἄρηι] φ[ίλ]ος Ἀμφιαρητεΐ-δας.

3–4. Not much is left of lines three and four, δ' ἀπαμ[, ποτέφα̣[respectively: the latter is almost intact. ποτέφα̣ appears in epic poetry so frequently with the letters ἀπαμ[(vid. supra), that Lobel's supplement of ἀπαμ[ειβόμενος is a good one. By far the most common construction in epic poetry involving these two words is: acc.sg. pronoun + δ'ἀπαμειβόμενος + ποτέφη + nom.sg. epithet/adjective[8] + proper name, as in Hom. *Il.*1.560, τὴν δ'ἀπαμειβόμενος ποτέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς. The first half of this hexameter is a formulaic unit with a hepthemimeral

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[6] Vid. Davies 1988a.277n. 2, Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1991.245–256, and more recently Rozokoki 2008.67–69. Cf. Gentili 1988.122.

[7] E.g. Rozokoki 2008.

[8] Sometimes it is noun + adjective + proper name, as in *Il.*1.84.

caesura: having occupied more than one half of the line, the poet is free to select an appropriate adjective, epithet or appositional noun to describe the speaker. In view of the influence of epic in Stesichoros,[9] a similar construction could occupy lines two and three. Lobel offers: τὴν]|δ'ἀπαμειβόμενος|ποτέφα̣ [κρατερὸς Χρυσάορος ἀ-|θανάτοιο̣ [γόνος καὶ Καλλιρόας.[10] There are some objections to this reconstruction: in Homer, the speaker is always named directly and not merely called 'the son/child of'. In the extant fragments and book quotations of Stesichoros's works, the adjective frequently comes either immediately before or after its governing noun: admittedly the *corpus* is thin, but it does seem somewhat odd that Chrysaor should have two adjectives and Kallirrhoe none.[11] A better arrangement might be something like: τὸν/τὴν]|δ'ἀπαμ[ειβόμενος|ποτέφα̣[φώς Γαρυόνης, τέκος ἀ-|θανάτοιο̣[ο̣ [καὶ ἱροῦ Χρυσάορος. φώς 'man', often appears in apposition (e.g. Hom. *Il*.2.565), and if Geryon be the speaker some emphasis could be placed on his mortality. Despite there being no evidence elsewhere of a 'monosyllabic bicep' in this position, its placement here would not be a violation. The mentioning of Geryon himself is desirable here as the speaker is introduced: τέκος, is a double short that slips in to fill the position before the almost inevitable privative alpha. Some indication of the monster's lineage would be fitting if the two combatants have just met (cf. Hom. *Od*.1.429); ἱροῦ Χρυσάορος is adequate and nicely finishes off the antistrophe. ἱροῦ: 'holy', in Homer sometimes of people, e.g. *Il*. 10.56, 24.681. Prest's construction might also be worth considering, θανάτοιο̣[τε Καλλιρόας γενέθλα vel γενέτας, although the distribution of adjectives seems as disproportionate as Lobel's effort. Cf. *Hom. h. Ap*.136.

3 **ποτέφα̣** = προσέφη. Frequently in Homer 231× (e.g. *Il*.1.84), and three times in Hesiod (*Th*.558, *Op*.53, *Sc*.77). [**φώς**] might be an appropriate form to describe Geryon, as in Hesiod his status is clearly defined as the strongest of βροτῶν (Hes. *Th*.981).

4 [**ἀ**]-|] **θανάτοιο̣**[: although only a tiny speck of the final omicron survives, no other letter seems likely. Despite coming from 'mixed' lineage

[9] Vid. pp. 63–64.
[10] Cf. double genitives in A. *Supp*.313; S. *Tr*.644.
[11] Cf. Bremer's (et al.) commentary on Stesichoros's *Thebaid* 159.1987.

(cf. Barrett 2007.30) Chrysaor is immortal, as in Hesiod (*Th.*280–281, 287–288). Under the ϑ is the paragraphus marking the end of the stanza.

5 **μοι ϑά[νατον**: cf. Hom. *Od.*14.219 οὔ ποτέ μοι ϑάνατον προτιόσσετο ϑυμὸς ἀγήνωρ. If the general sense of the fragment is correct, some kind of prohibition would fit the context. [**προφέρων**]: in Homer it is used with both abstract, e.g. *Il.*2.251, and concrete nouns, e.g. *Il.*3.64, as direct objects. προφέρων appears with the general sense of 'challenge', as in *Od.*8.210–211. A good alternative to this is Barrett's ϑροέων, 'crying aloud', its causal sense is 'scare': cf. S. *O.C.*1425. **κρυόεντα** is hard to confirm as only part of the suffix survives. 'Chilling' because death beneath the earth is far from the warm sun of living men (cf. S. *O.C.*621, νέκυς ψυχρός), or maybe just that the prospect of death makes one shake as if freezing. In Homer it is usually associated with fear, e.g., *Il.*9.2, in Hesiod sometimes used to describe battle e.g., *Th.*935–936. Cf. Alc.34.7–8 ϑα[ν]άτω ῥύεσϑε ζακρυόεντος, (61.14) ϑά]νατ̣[ον ζ]ακρυ̣όεν̣[τα]; Bakch.fr. 60.12 κρυόεντι γὰρ [ἐμ π]ολέμω⟨ι⟩. ϑά[νατον ... κρυόεντα; S. *Ant.*88, ϑερμὴν ἐπὶ ψυχροῖσι καρδίαν ἔχεις; E. fr. 908, κρυερὰ Διόϑεν|ϑανάτου πεμφϑεῖσα. Verg. *Aen.*3.259–260 at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis deriguit. For others vid. West 1978.190.

6 **δεδίσκ**[ε: 'frighten'. The verb is almost certain, here possibly with an inceptive force as Herakles starts to taunt Geryon. To the warrior, fear is closely linked with shame (vid. Pl. *Euthphr.*12b; et Epich. fr. 221.1; cf. S. *Aj.*1079), which Geryon considers if he yields to fear, 11–12 κάκ' ἐ|λέγχεα, 22 ὀνείδε[α. Cf. Verg. *Aen.*12.894–895.

[ἀγάνορα ϑυμόν]. As a supplement this is acceptable, it should not, however, be confused with text. Vid. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1990.26. In its positive sense ἀγάνορα means manly, or courageous, often with ϑυμὸς, e.g. *Il.*2.276, 12.300, 9.635, 24.42, *Od.*11.562. Vid. Graziosi and Haubold 2003. It is also frequently used with the collateral notion of arrogance: of Achilles (*Il.*9.699), Thersites (2.276), the suitors (*Od.*1.106, 144, al.) and the Titans, (Hes. *Th.*641). As Geryon is probably speaking, ἀγάνορα ϑυμόν has its positive sense. Cf. Arist. *EN.*1116b26.

7 **μηδεμελ**[. Various reconstructions are possible. μηδ' ἐμὲ: cf. Isoc. *Nic.*51.6; Hdt.1.108.14, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε. Also Thgn.152, 364; Pl. *Grg.*463.a.5, 494.c.5; Phil.2.10.9. μηδὲ μέλ[: cf. A.*Th.*5.98.1.9 μηδὲ μελλήσαντας; Isoc. *Trapez.*52.4 μηδὲ μέλλοντος; Pl. *Phlb.*40.d.10 μηδὲ μέλλουσι. μηδέ με λ[–⏑⏑. Page offers the imperative form λίσσεο, which is not out of

place in the fragment. If correct it refers to the previous speech which Geryon now tries to reject. The verb appears frequently in Homer, but only once as an imperative (*Il.*1.394): there are other forms that have a the context of supplication, e.g., *Il.*6.45, 9.451, 15.660, 20.469, 21.71, 22.338; *Od.*22.337, 6.142. Despite no parallels being found in epic or lyric, Barrett's (2007.29) effort is better as it extends Geryon's admonition to Herakles and maintains the sense of the reconstruction.

8–9 ἀθάνατος … καὶ ἀγή[ραος. A common Homeric phrase, e.g. *Il.*8.538–539 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὣς εἴην ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα; *Il.*12.323–324 αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε|ἔσσεσθ'; *Od.*5.218 ἡ μὲν γὰρ βροτός ἐστι, σὺ δ' ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως.

8 αἰ μὲν γὰ[… 16 αἰ δ' ὦ φ[. The reconstruction of these two clauses is remarkably good and its symmetry is worthy of some comment:

8). If I cannot die.	16). If I must die.
9–10). I will live with the gods.	18). I will live with mortals.
11–12). I shall not shirk the appointed fight.	20). I shall accept my fate.

For symmetry in early Greek lyric vid. Fowler 1987.74–77, in Stesichoros and Homer, Maltomini 1984.67–70. The closest parallel to this double 'if' clause is found in Pindar's *N.*10: Polydeukes finds his brother Kastor nearly dead and gasping hard for his breath (74) and so complains to Zeus that, like Kastor, he wishes to die. The son of Kronos replies (83–86): εἰ μὲν θάνατόν τε φυγὼν καὶ γῆρας ἀπεχθόμενον … εἰ δὲ κασιγνήτου πέρι μάρνασαι.

μὲν. The preparatory μὲν is answered with δ' at line 16.

8–10 αἰ μὲν γὰ[ρ γένος ἀθάνατος πέλο]μαι καὶ ἀγή[ραος ὥστε βίου πεδέχειν] ἐν Ὀλύμπ[ωι. This supplement is primarily based on the logic of Geryon's speech, that 'if I am immortal or not, I still must fight Herakles rather than do nothing and watch my cattle being driven off. If I am immortal so much the better as I cannot be killed, but if I am not, I would rather die with honour than survive without'. Cf. Rozokoki 2008.67–69. The standpoint expressed here is reminiscent of a passage in Pindar's *Ol.*1.81–84. Cf. Alc.38A.10–11; Verg. *Aen.*10.467–469; Beowulf 1384–1389; the Epic of Gilgamesh, tab. 3 col. 2.34–35. Vid. De Hoz 1972. 200.

9]μαι καὶ ἀγή[**ραος**: a good supplement, well attested in epic (vid. supra) and fits the expected word ending, –⏑⏑–⏑⏑⁝. Added to this are:

a). [ραος ἀνέρα τόνδε φυγὼν (Barrett).
b). [ρως πὰρ μακάρεσσι θεοῖς (Barrett).
c). [ραος ὥστε βίου πεδέχειν (Page).
d). [ραος ἤματα πάντα μένων (Rozokoki).

a). The one fleeing is, of course, Geryon and 'that man' is Herakles. If one accepts the overall reconstruction of the fragment, Barrett's effort here is not offensive. However, there are no epic parallels for this construction. Better is his other supplement (b), reasonably common in epic poetry, e.g. Hom. *Il*.5.819, an almost identical formula appears later on lines 25–26. This need not, however, be a problem: such repetition was not displeasing to Greeks. c). Page's supplement also has no epic parallels, and is the least convincing of the four. d). This last one seems to be the best yet put forward. ἤματα πάντα often appears with 'deathless and ageless', in particular Hom. *Il*.8.539. It is not normally governed by a participle or verb (cf. Hom. *h. Dem*.373) and frequently ends the line, e.g. Hom. *Od*.2.205.

10 ἐν Ὀλύμπ[**ωι**: frequently in Homer *Il*.1.566, 5.877, 8.451, 10.462 18.429, *Od*.11.313; P. *Frg. Hymn*.33e.5; Ar. *Av*.578.

11 κρέσσον[-: Campbell translates this as 'better'. 'Stronger' might be considered too. Cf. H. *Th*.981 Καλλιρόη τέκε παῖδα (sic Geryon) βροτῶν κάρτιστον ἁπάντων. P.I.E. *kr̥t-u- (cf. Hom. κρατύς) > *kret-yos, *kret^{s}-os→*kret$^{(s)}$yōn > *krečč̌ōn, κρέσσων. Vid. Sihler 1995.191. The suffix *-yos added to the root indicates a pronounced degree, as in for example Lat. seniōr, Old Iranian *siniu* (cf. Skt. *mahīyasa*). Cf. Theoc.8.83 κρέσσον μελπομένω τευ ἀκουέμεν ἢ μέλι λείχειν.

11–13 Barrett's με καθήμενον has the sense of inactivity, being idle, and so translates here 'to receive the shameful words without action'. ἐνθάδ' here seems to have a temporal force which is repeated in line 20. ἐ-|λεγχέα is accented on the papyrus as an adjective. Barrett (2007.32) rightly points out that there is no compelling reason to shift the accent and read the word as a noun (cf. Davies's et al. text). However, if it should be read as a noun Lobel's κάκ' ἐ-|λέγχεα stands good, frequently appearing in epic e.g. Hes. *Th*.26; Hom. *Il*.5.787. Cf. *RV* 1.91.15. The final syllables of ἔπεα would have to stand in synizesis which is not desirable

(vid. fr. 3.3). If line 13's καὶ is the anacrusis that starts the strophe, Barrett's τ[οῦδ' ὑπαλεόμενον ἀλκὰν, does not scan [-⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑--‖. Rozokoki (2008.67) thinks that Geryon is aware that he is mortal before facing Herakles, for if he were ignorant of his own nature he would be more a subject of parody than of epic. She supplies (11) [με λιπόντ' ὀπίσω ... (12) ... δ̣[ῆριν ἐᾶν: Geryon considers it better to avoid the clash with the hero and be disgraced than face certain death. The general sense of her supplement is in keeping with many of the other reconstructions put forward.

12 ̇υ̇λεγχέᾰδ̣[: just to the left a line beneath the upsilon is a marginal sign represented in Lobel's text as an asterisk. McNamee (2007.371) thinks it is a very cursive διº, an abbreviation for διορθωτέον 'ought to be corrected', that refers to the upsilon marked with dots. Such dots often occur to pick out a letter either within the text in need of correction or added above the line as a correction itself. This explanation seems a bit suspect as the upsilon is a full line higher than the supposed διº. As λεγχέᾰδ̣[marks the end of the epode and so a triad it might be safer to read the marginal sign as a very cursive and rudimentary coronis.

14 κερα[ΐζομένας: has the general sense of plunder or ravage, which would be appropriate for Herakles's taking of the herd. Cf. E. *Alc.*886 εὐνὰς θανάτοις κεραϊζομένας. Lobel's κερα[ΐζομένας observes the caesura on the second line of the stanza, sic ⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; the whole reconstruction of lines 14 and 15 fits comfortably into the stanza's second period of seven dactyls. [**ἐπιδῆν**] = ἐπιδεῖν. Perhaps at this point Geryon has already witnessed Herakles's taking of the cattle. [**βόας**]: in the ancient world cattle are synonymous with wealth. In Latin, money and cattle share the same root, viz. *pecu*-. Cf. MacDonnell 1897.61–63.

14–15 ἁ|]μετέρω[ν = ἡμετέρων. The long alpha fits the metrical scheme and aids the expected bridge, sic -͡⏑⏑-⁝. Also in accordance with the anticipated bridge is the subsequent supplement of ἀπόνοσφιν, ⏑⏑-͡⏑.

16 αἰ δ': ⏒⁝-[⁝. The elision of the monosyllable here in the fourth line of the anti/strophe corresponds metrically with *Gery*. fr. 12 col. ii.8's διὰ δ'. **αἰ δ' ὦ φ[ίλε κτλ** ... The speech is similar in language and temperament to the one in Stesichoros's *Thebaid* where Iocasta asks Tiresias whether she is fated to watch her children kill each other and the city of Thebes fall (S222A. 211–214):

αἰ δέ με παίδας ἰδέσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλάλοισ⟨ι⟩ δαμέντας
μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, ἐπεκλώσαν δὲ Μοίρα[ι],
αὐτίκα μοι θανάτου τέλος στυγεροῖο γέν[οιτο
πρίν ποκα ταῦτ' ἐσιδεῖν

The verse looks reasonably safe, all expected word endings are observed, viz. αἰ δ' ὦ φ[ίλε χρὴ στυγερ …, ⏓⁝-⁝⏑⏑-⁝.

16–17 γῆ-]ρας [ἰκ]έσθαι. Two reconstructions have been put forward for this line: Barrett's χρὴ στυγερόν μ' ἐπὶ γῆ]|ρας [ἰκ]έσθαι and West's λοιπὸν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γῆ|ρας ἵκ]έσθαι. Both violate the expected bridge on the third longum, sic ⁝⏓-⁀⏑⏑-⏑⏑--||. There are no parallels for either supplement in epic: in Homer old age is often described as hateful e.g. *Il.*19.336. The bemoaning of old age has remained consistent in Greek poetry e.g. Anacr. fr. 322 et 432.1–2; Mimn.1.5–6; Soph. *O.C.*1235–1238. For visual representations of this 'affliction' on early Greek vases vid. Richardson 1969.81–120. Cf. *Od.*23.212 = *h. Aph.*106 γήραος οὐδὸν ἱκέσθαι; Bakch.11.30 [. . . . .] ραν θ' ἱκέσθαι.

18–19 ζώ[ει]ν. The opening word of the passage is very fragmentary with doubtful letters. The best surviving of these are ζώ[which probably refers to Geryon, and so Barrett's ἐν ἐ[φαμερίοις. The whole construction of ζώ[ει]ν τ' ἐν ἐ[παμερίοις ἀπάνευθε ties in with the fairly certain θ[ε]ῶν μακάρω[ν. **ἐ[παμερίοις**: the unaspirated π is more probable than a φ. Cf. 222A.207. For the compound ἐπί + ἡμέρα vid. Fränkel 1946.131–145. **ἀπάνευ]θε [θε]ῶν**. Preceding [θε]ῶν some preposition is needed, ἀπάνευθε fits the cola. Cf. *Il.*1.554, ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλωμι νοῆσαι.

19 θ[ε]ῶν μακάρω[ν: various permutations of this appear in Homer, e.g. *Il.*1.339; and in Hesiod, fr. 25.31, fr. 204.117, fr. 229.11, fr. 309.1, and later Alc. fr. 5.7, μακάρων θέων[, fr. 117b.16, Δίο[ς] καὶ μ[α]κά[ρων θέων, Alc. fr. 304 col. 1.8, θέων μακάρων πάτηρ.

20 νῦν μοι πολὺ κά[λλιόν ἐστι παθῆν. The apodosis of αἰ δ' ὦ φί[λε … (16). **[παθῆν]** =παθεῖν. **πολὺ κά[λλιόν**: the pathopoeia of Geryon's speech would be intensified by his resolution to do what is noble. Barrett's supplement νῦν μοι πολὺ κά[λλιόν ἀμφιέπειν is an alternative to Page's, although it means jettisoning ἐστι which would be the first proper finite verb for eleven lines. Cf. Pindar's narration of the snatching of Diomedes's horses by Herakles: fr. 169a. Vid. Bornmann 1978.33–35.

21 ὅ τι μόρσιμ[**ον**. This might refer to the inevitability of Herakles's success and so Geryon's doom. Cf. Stesich.222A. 274. μόρσιμόν ἐστι γεν[έσθαι; S. *Ant*.236 τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἂν ἄλλο πλὴν τὸ μόρσιμον. **μόρσιμ**[**ον**. Commonly found in Homer: *Il*.5.674, 15.613, 19.417, 22.13, *Od*.10.175, 16.392, 21.162; also Thgn.2.1328, P. *I*.7.41, A. *Supp*.1047. [**ον ἢ θάνατον προφυγῆν**]. The supplement fits metrically—word break well inserted [⏑⁝-⁝⏑⏑-⏑⏑-|||,—and is a suitable response to Geryon's fate. Cf. Bakch.7.29 προφυγεῖν θά[νατ]ον; Ephor. fr. 199.11 θάνατον προφυγόντες. Barrett (2007.29) offered [ον ἦ̣, μὴ δυσκλεΐα …, which does not scan terribly well [⏑⁝-⁝⏕-⏕-|||. The subjunctive and what follows refer to the possible outcome of the battle between Herakles and Geryon. Underneath the ὅ is the paragraphus marking what seems to be the end of the strophe.

22 ὀνείδε[**α**: the sentiment is comparable to Tyrt.10.9–14. The prospect of Geryon disgracing his lineage invites pity. In Homer shame and disgrace are often coupled with fear or pity. It was a common wish for Greeks that an honourable name be left for one's offspring, e.g. Hom. *Il*.6.209–210, *Od*.1.236, 24.511–512. Cf. Cairns 1993.14–47. **ὀνείδε**[**α … καταχευέμεν**: cf. *Od*.22.463 αἳ δὴ ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ κατ' ὀνείδεα χεῦαν. [**παισὶ φίλοισι**]. According to Pausanias, Erytheia was the daughter of Geryon. She coupled with Hermes and bore Norax (10.17.5). Cf. Stesich. S. 104.18]δα παίδα φίλον ̣ [; Hom. *Il*.1.447 παῖδα φίλην, *Il*.2.713 φίλος πάϊς; Hes. *Th*.162 παισὶ φίλοισιν; Pi. *O*.7.41 παισὶν φίλοις; Tyrt.10.5–6 μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ γέροντι παισί τε σὺν μικροῖς κουριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ. The earliest localisation of Geryon's home that can be identified with an actual place outside Spain comes from the 6th century BCE historian Hekataios (1 F.26), who states that Geryon came from the city of Ambracia (modern Arta) in Epirus, situated on the river Arachthos (cf. Mela.2.3; Plin.4.1; Plb.4.63). There is a considerable chronological gap between this version and the 4th century BCE *Periplus* (26.15) ascribed to the geographer Scylax, who places Geryon on a plain in Chaonia (Verg. *Aen*.4.5.510 et al.)—a mountainous part of Epirus—called Erytheia where the monster tended his herd (Other late accounts of the myth, preserved by Western writers, state that a herdsman named Larinos (Lycus *FGrH* 2.370; cf. Eust.21.392) protected Geryon's cattle). Here is evidence for another tradition of the Geryon myth in mainland Greece which has not survived or flourished as well as the more familiar occidental one: its re-emergence in the 4th and 3rd century was probably due to the trend that came to characterise the writings of later Hellenistic authors to uncover local histories and myth.

In Hesiod (*Th.*983) Geryon is associated with the island of Erytheia, but the island is not localised in southern Spain until the 7th century.

23 καὶ παντὶ γέ[**νει**: the dative singular slots in to meet the caesura, sic ⏖⁞–⏑⏑–⁞.

23–24 γέ[**νει καταχευέμεν ἐξ**-] **ọπίσω**: cf. *Od.*1.222 οὐ μέν τοι γενεήν γε θεοὶ νώνυμνον ὀπίσσω; Tyrt.12.30 καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω; Sol.13.32 ἢ παῖδες τούτων ἢ γένος ἐξοπίσω. Vid. Diggle 1970.5–6.

24 (**ἐξ**-])**ọπίσω**. ὀπίσω has a general sense of 'behind', here with ἐξ has a temporal sense, referring to the future, as in his *Thebaid* 222A.202. Since the future is unseen, it was regarded by Greeks as something behind: the known past was conceptualised as being in front. Cf. Hom. *Od.*1.222–223.]**ạ́ο**[. .] .**όκ̣**[: this tiny piece (P.Oxy.2617 fr. 14) has been attached by Lobel to fr. 6. It does not add a great deal. Davies's text reads a very dubious Χρυσ[άο]ρο[ς υ]ịọ́ν. The last letter of this line is very likely a kappa.

25–26: Lobel (1967.14) attached P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 15.1's]σσι θε[to fr. 7, in order to create [μ]ὴ τοῦτο φ[ί]λ̣ον μακά[ρε]σσι θε[ο]ῖ-|σι γ]ẹ́νοιτο. This supplement is the best put forward. Cf. *Il.*7.387, 4.17. **τοῦτο**: 'this' probably refers to Geryon's disgrace. Cf. Barrett 2007.35. **μ**]**ὴ τοῦτο φ**[**ί**]**λ̣ον**: cf. *Od.*7.316 μὴ τοῦτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο; *Od.*1.82 εἰ μὲν δὴ νῦν τοῦτο φίλον μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν. **μακά**[**ρε**]**σσι**: nothing else seems probable.

27: the best preserved line of P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 15 is περὶ βουσὶν ἐμαῖς, which no doubt refers to the cattle Geryon is soon to lose. Cf. Hes. *Th.*983 βοῶν ἕνεκ' εἰλιπόδων ἀμφιρρύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείῃ; Hes. *Sc.*12 χωσάμενος περὶ βουσί; Pi. *N.*10.60 τὸν γὰρ Ἴδας ἀμφὶ βουσίν πως χολωθεὶς.

28]**λέος**· Ἡρακ]λέος or perhaps just κ]λέος.

Fr. 8 = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 21

The consensus is that this fragment comes near fr. 4 and its context is Geryon complaining to Zeus about the theft of the cattle. Campbell (1991.79) believes that if the fragment is part of some remonstration

voiced by Geryon it belongs to fr. 5 and fr. 7. The remains are too thin for any decisive commentary; only inferences can be drawn.

3 **κ̣ρατος**: in Homer the word usually refers to physical strength (e.g. *Il.*7.142, *Il.*13.484, *Od.*9.393), which here could refer to either Herakles or Geryon. Alternatively, it could be just a genitive form of κάρ as in fr. 12 col. i 14–15.

10 **]δ̣ικοισιν**: Barrett offers ἀ]δ̣ίκοισιν[, which would naturally belong to the injured party, i.e. Geryon or perhaps Kallirrhoe. It is unlikely that Herakles, either before or after the raid, is going to be complaining of some wrongdoing.

11 **Κρον]ι̣δα βα̣[σιλεῦ**: commonly used name in epic for Zeus (*Il.*1.498, 2.111. et al.) and in Alkaios (Alc. fr. 38a.9) α]ὔτω⟨ι⟩ μόχθον ἔχην Κρο-νίδαις βα̣[, (fr. 296a.3) [] δη πόλις ὤ[. . . . . . .Κρονίδα βασίληος, (fr. 387.1) Κρονίδα βασίληος γένος Αἴάν τὸν ἄριστον πεδ' Ἀχίλλεα. Cf. Ibyc.1a.21 ἆ]ρχε Πλεισθ[ενί]δας βασιλ[εὺ]ς ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν.

Fr. 9 = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 19

Verse: Lines 1–3 = Strophe 7–9
Lines 4–12 = Antistrophe 1–9
Lines 13–18 = Epode 1–6

Line 7's π]είθου, τέκνον, (voc.) suggests dialogue: Kallirrhoe or Chrysaor could be talking to Geryon. In emotional scenes τέκνον is favoured over παῖ when a parent is addressing its offspring. If the context is right it would belong before the battle fragments of frr. 12, 13.

3 **πεν ἰ[δοῖσ]ά τε νισόμ̣[ενον**. This is presumably the point in Kallirrhoe's speech where she attempts to dissuade her son from doing battle with Herakles. **νισόμ̣[ενον**: in Homer, this form usually refers to someone either going into battle (*Il.*13.186, 15.577), or going home (*Od.*4.701, 5.19). Geryon, if he be the speaker, is presumably going forward to fight Herakles. Lerza (1981.22) and Führer (1977.9) both offer verbs of speaking, εἶ-|πεν and ποτέφα· respectively. There is no parallel for either arrangement. However, if Kallirrhoe is about to speak she needs some sort of verb, in that respect Lerza's and Führer's are both adequate. As an

alternative to πεν ἰ[δοῖσ]ά τε νισόμ[ενον, Castellaneta puts forward πε νι[ν ὦκ]α τε νισόμ[ενος, her belief is that Kallirrhoe urges Geryon to run away quickly and take cover. Her reconstruction might be a little more convincing if she were to complete it. Castellaneta's explanation for her supplements is rather thin too (2005.32n. 44): 'Sull'occorrenza di νέομαι in associazione ad avverbi di tempo quali θοῶς e τάχα si confronti, ad esempio, *Od*.16.350, 23.23.' On the papyrus beneath the π is a line denoting the end of the strophe.

4 νίκα[ ] κράτος. Various supplements have been put forward to occupy this lacuna. None seems illuminating or helpful. κράτος here could refer to strength/power. νίκα and κράτος often appear together in poetry, e.g. A. *Supp*.951 νίκη καὶ κράτη; S. *El*.85 νίκην τέ φημι καὶ κράτος; D. 19.130 κράτη πολέμου καὶ νίκη; Th.2.87.3. κράτος νικηθέν; Philoch. fr. 144–145.5 κ̣ράτ̣[ος νι]κ̣ῆσαι; and prose, Pl. *Lg*.962a νίκη καὶ κράτη πολεμίων. Et. RV 1.168.7; 10.153.2; 10.170.3; cf. Old Testament, *Chron*.1.29.11. In Bakchylides, victory is frequently personified, e.g. 5.33, 12.5, and closely identified with Herakles's patroness Athena e.g. S. *Ph*.134; E. *Ion* 452–457; Paus.1.42.4. In Hesiod, Νίκην and Κράτος are personified as the grandchildren of Okeanos (*Th*.383–385). Some reference to Geryon's genealogy could be given here. In Hesiod (*Th*.981–982) emphasise seems to be given to Geryon's strength. Comparable to this is the description of Azhi Dahaka in the Avestan epic,[12] where it is called (Yaçna 9.8) *ashaojastemãm drujem*, 'the strongest Druj', and (*ibid.*) *ashaojanghem*, 'of mighty strength'; in the Ṛgveda, Viçvarupa is said to be (10.8.9), *bhūrīd … udinakṣantam ojo*, 'desiring to obtain much strength.' Cf. *Gery*. fr. 12.9.

5 στυγε̣[ρ̣- is frequent in epic and tragedy, both of persons and things. Vid. *Gery*. fr. 12 col. ii.1–2.

6 λεύκ[ιππος. A possible reference to Helios's horses (cf. Bakch.13.11, et λευκόπωλος A.*Pers*.386, S.*Aj*.673), or just a simple epithet for Herakles or some god. Vid. Pi. *O*.6.95; *P*.1.66. Cf. the biformed Molionids who were called λευκίππους κόρους (Athen.2.57). Vid. Hom. *Il*.11.750–752; Hes. fr. 17 M.W; Pi. *O*.10.26–30; ΣA *Il*.11.709.

[12] Vid. pp. 177–179.

7–10 π̣είθευ … **αἰ-|γιοχọ́[ιο**. It is possible that at this stage in the battle Athena steps in to help Herakles. Cf. Hom. *Il*.15.242, Διὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο et *Od*.24.164, *h. Herm*.10, 396, 535; Hes. *Th*.1002. **π̣είθευ**. The emendation seems warranted as the contraction of ε + ο is not anticipated (π̣είθε-σο, > -ε(σ)ο, > οῦ) in the present *corpus* (cf. *Gery*. fr. 1.2 χρ̣ύσεον, S. 137.7 τείχεος[). The contraction of εο to ευ is common enough in Homer, certainly with pronominal genitives, e.g. ἐμεῦ, εὖ etc. **τέκνοṿ**: the epsilon here before muta cum liquida is short τε͡κνοṿ as in 178.1 et 222.col. ii.3. For τέκνον as a kinship term vid. Dickey 1996.65 ff.

9–10 αἰ|γιόχọ[ιο: although the aegis is primarily associated with Zeus, e.g. Hom. *Il*.2.375; Alc.343; Alcm.85; Emp.142, Athena is also often seen wearing it, e.g. Hom. *Il*.5.736–738; schol. *Il*.15.229; Bakch.17.7. As well as protection the aegis was used as a rattle, which was shaken in the hand to produce a sense of fear or rouse men to fight, e.g. Hom. *Il*.15.229–230; 318–322. In the *Aspis* (343–344), Athena shakes the aegis before Herakles fights Kyknos: some similar scene may be taking place here.

15 to the left of]αλλυπ̣[in the margin is the critical sign X. Not a lot can be said about its presence here; it is not even certain whether it refers to col. i or ii. They appear reasonably often in fragments of lyric poetry (vid. Fowler 1979.24).

18 χερί δ̣[-⏑⏑-. χερι is the dative singular of χείρ.

Fr. 10 = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 3

Verse: Lines 1–2 = Epode 7–8
Lines 3–8 = Strophe 1–6

The positioning of this fragment is determined by the gaps on the papyrus between verses six and eight that suggest short lines. Four consecutive long verses, viz. 3–6, suggest an anti/strophe. Because the verse preceding these four is short it must come from the closing epode, and so makes the subsequent stanza a strophe. However, metrically the two final lines of the epode are troublesome. The best surviving evidence for the final line of the epode comes from fr. 7.11–12, κρέσσον[με καθήμεμον ἐνθάδ’

ἐ-|λέγχεα δ.[13] The first position of the final line in the epode is of course long and so line seven ends, ⏑⏑ with the eighth continuing, -⏑⏑-.... Davies et al. mistakenly give (7) ... ⏑⏑-|(8) ⏑⏑ ....

In epic poetry the gods often assemble to watch over events of mortals. Cf. Stob.1.5.10–12a. The first two lines of the fragment could be some peroration uttered by Athena before Zeus on Olympos, after which she turns to Poseidon. Divine intervention is possible in the *Geryoneis*. Many examples of 6th century vase-paintings show Hermes, perhaps functioning as a messenger (e.g. Herakles 2470). An early position in the poem is plausible,[14] certainly before the fight. For Iris in Stesichoros vid. Bowra 1963.247.

1 [**οὐ γάρ τις ἔμ**]-⏑⏑-⏑:⏑. The contraction in this position is well attested, e.g. *Gery.* fr. 7.20, and the expected caesura is observed. This formula is frequently found in Homer *Il.*6.487, 7.197, 7.409, 9.104, 17.14, 17.146, 18.296, 24.524; *Od.*3.89, 4.607; Mimn. fr. 14.9. **παραὶ**: the paragogue iota is in synizesis with the alpha and so occupies a single long position. Cf. Hom. *Il.*2.711, ἔμ]ιμνε παραὶ Δία; *h.Ap.*5, οἴη μίμνε παραὶ Διὶ.

2 **παμ**. The text here appears faulty: according to the papyrus, line one ends with ... παμ which, if the proposed cola is correct (vid. supra), cannot end the seventh verse of the epode: it must start the eighth. The alternative to this is that fr. 7.11 is in error. One final possibility is that fr. 7.11 is in fact the correct metre, and this fragment is from another song. If the emendation is, however, accepted, what remains of the final line then reads: παμ[⏑⏑-⏑⏑-|||. These final positions in the stanza can easily be filled with something epic, like Barrett's βασιλῆα θεῶν. Cf. Hes. *Th.*897; et Alcm.5, A.R.4.382, Lxx *Si.*50.15, *Epigr. Gr.*990.3.

3 **μετὰ δὲ**: after the council of the gods Athena turns to Poseidon. Cf. Hom. *Il.*2.446 μετὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. **γλαυκ]ῶπις**: in Homer 83× (e.g. *Il.*1.206), in Hesiod 9× (e.g. *Th.*13). The position of γλαυκ]ῶπις Ἀθάνα at the close of the strophe's first period corresponds with its usual placing at the end of the hexameter, e.g. *Il.*1.206 et al. **Ἀθάνα**: her role as helper to heroes is well known in literature. Athena helps Herakles to slay Geryon, as she does Kadmos (Σ Eur. Phoen.670 (i 318a. Schwartz)) and Epeios (Athen.10.456f–457a (ii 493 Kaibel)).

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13 The papyrus reads]λεγχέα, the accent may be misplaced by the scribe.

14 Cf. the assembly of the gods at the beginning of the *Odyssey*.

4 The metre for this line is: ⏓⁝-⏑⏑-|⏓⁝-⁝⏑⏑-. The reconstruction observes all anticipated word endings, sic εὖ φάσκεν ἰθὺ]ς ποτὶ ὃν κρατερό-. After the anacrusis of εὖ, the period starts with φάσκεν; in Homer this verb often begins the line, e.g. *Od.*10.331. [φάτ'] Page's supplement is an alternative. It has a general sense of 'say' or 'affirm', either absolute or followed by an infinitive, to express a belief or opinion (as in Hom. *Il.*2.37). [εὐφραδέω]ς: Barrett's effort observes the expected caesura sic ⁝-⏑⏑-|. The adverb appears only once in Homer (*Od.*19.352). **ἰθὺ]ς ποτὶ**: now the council has disbanded Athena speaks openly. Cf. Hom. *Il.*12.137, ἰθὺς πρὸς. **ποτὶ**. Doric for πρός. Stesichoros seems to favour ποτί over προς; extant evidence shows ten examples of ποτί either as a simple preposition or part of a compound (*Gery.* fr. 1.4, 6; 187.1 × 2; 209. col. 2; 245; 264; S. 148. col. i.2 et 6; S. 88. col. ii.6; over two πρός S. 88. col. ii.6; 222B.39.14). Judging from the metrical schemes of S. 88. col. ii.6 et 222B.39.14, there is no obvious cause to doubt that these two assibilated forms are not authentic (cf. Janko 1979). Cf. Alkman's three ποτί (1.75; 3.62; 85b) over one of πρός (70.a); in Bakchylides two examples of ποτί (11.96; 16.29) over twelve πρός (1.76; 5.45, 78, 93, 149, 161, 171; 11. 23, 100; 14b.8; 15.2, 9); in Pindar thirty-five over one hundred. **ὃν**: possessive pronoun, 'to *her* stout-hearted uncle'. Properly σϝος (cf. Lat. svos, suus), then ϝός, eventually replaced in all forms by the rough breathing. ποτὶ (ϝ)ὃν: the digamma here looks to be respected.

κρατερό[⏑⏑-. Lobel offers κρατερό[φρονα. Page ascribes this to Poseidon and constructs, κρατερό|φρονα πάτρω. Despite Poseidon never being described as 'stout-hearted' in epic and early lyric, the reconstruction is acceptable. In Hesiod, Chrysaor is called Χρυσάορι καρτεροθύμῳ (*Th.*979), who, being Geryon's father, is also plausible. The epithet 'stout-hearted' is reasonably common: of the Dioscuri in Homer, *Od.*11.299; Odysseus, 4.333; a wild beast, *Il.*10.184; Hesiod's race of bronze men, *Op.*147 -φρονα. Cf. Ibyc. fr. 298.4; *I.G.*1.503; Orph. fr. 164.

5 **φρονα πάτρῳ ι**] scans ⏑⏑⁝-⏓. Despite the fact that there is no parallel for the contraction in this position elsewhere in the poem, and that the expected word-endings are disregarded, the restoration is plausible. **ἱ]πποκέλευθον** 'driver of horses', -]⏑⏑--||. Stesichoros seems fond of ending periods with polysyllabic words: cf. S. 148 col. i.7, Ἀμφιαρητεΐδας·; 212.3, ἐπερχομένου; 223.5, λιπεσάνορας. Although in Homer the epithet is only attested to Patroklos (*Il.*16.126, 584, 839), it is an appropriate one for Poseidon. According to Pausanias all men called Poseidon the

god of the sea, earthquakes and horses (7.21.7). Hippios was a common cult title for the god (Bakch.16.99; A.*Th.*130; Ar. *Eq.*551, *Nu.*83. Cf. Soph. *O.C.*55 et 711 ff.) and at times horses were sacrificed to him (Paus.8.7.2–3; App. Mith.70. Cf. *h. Ap.*229–238; Paus.8.42.1–2; Σ. (D) *Il.*23.346. Et Hes. *Th.*280–283); Σ T Hom. *Il.*6.507 Στησίχορος κοιλωνύχων ἵππων πρύτανιν τὸν Ποσειδῶνά φησιν.

6 The metre for the fourth line of the strophe is: ⏕⁝–⁝⏑⏑–⁝⏕–⏑⏑–. ὧδ' ὢν ἀγαθὸ]ς, this arrangement observes Stesichoros's strictness regarding word-endings. ὧδε + imperative] = 'come'. Athena challenges Poseidon to let Geryon confront Herakles: 'Come, let him, being noble, take thought as he fights with (my) man'. There is no parallel for Page's ἄγ' ὑποσχέσιο]ς μεμναμένος in epic and lyric. He (1973.147) believed that Athena tells Poseidon to 'remember your promise to Geryon and save him if you can, but I will make sure Herakles kills him all the same.' This interpretation is odd. Barrett adds ἄγ' ὑποσχέσιο]ς μεμναμένος ἅ[ν- περ ὑπέστας] μὴ βούλεο Γαρυ]όναν θ[αν]άτου. As there is no reference to this promise by Poseidon this seems dubious. In epic poetry the relationship between the two deities had been far from harmonious. Brize writes (1980. 36): 'Athena und Poseidon nehmen wie in der Odyssee für verschiedene Seiten Partei. Wie Odysseus durch die Blendung Polyphems den Zorn Poseidons erregt [Hom.*Od.*9.538, 13.128–164], lädt auch Herakles immer wieder den Fluch dieses Gottes auf sich, wenn er seine Söhne tötet.' As Poseidon is the grandfather of Geryon and Athena is the patroness of Herakles, it casts some doubt on Page's and Barrett's efforts. Cf. Willi 2008.96–98. Promises in Homer precede fulfilment, not (as possibly here) non-fulfilment, e.g. *Il.*2.257, *Od.*10.483. **]ς μεμναμένος** ⏕–⏑⏑: the contraction supports that of (*Gery.* fr. 3.3) π[αγχρ]ύσεα.

6–7 μεμναμένος ἀ[ν-|δρὶ μαχέσθω]: cf. Hom. *Il.*19.153 ὧδέ τις ὑμείων μεμνημένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω. Page put forward [περ ὑπέστας], presumably his inspiration was Hom. *Od.*10.483, Ὦ Κίρκη, τέλεσόν μοι ὑπόσχεσιν ἥν περ ὑπέστης.

8–10 νῦν δ' αὖτε Ποσείδα]ον ἂν θ[αν]άτου|[ῥέσκευ τρικέφα-|λον Γαρυόνα ...]: 'but should you now again, O Poseidon, rescue Geryon, the three headed one, from death ...'. Athena, now given some assurance by Zeus, warns Poseidon not to interfere again with the fate of Geryon. This reconstruction is in keeping with the overall sense of the fragment. So too are the supplements of Barrett, although his [μὴ βούλεο] is

an inadequate expression, 'do not wish [to save?] Geryon from death'. An infinitive would be welcomed in this construction. Cf. S. *OT*.1522 πάντα μὴ βούλου κρατεῖν. [**νῦν δ' αὖτε**]: cf. Hom. *Od*.2.48 νῦν δ' αὖ. **ϑ̣[αν]άτου**: Lobel's ablatival genitive is fitting.

Fr. 11 = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 17

Verse: Lines 1–7 = Antistrophe 3–9
Line 8 = Epode 1

The battle din suggests that Herakles is now moving in on Geryon. The hero has at least two fights before finally meeting Geryon, so seems unlikely that a grievous din of battle would come from the un-armoured Orthos or Eurytion.

1 **κω** Ionic form of the enclitic πω. Reasonably common in lyric: e.g. Alcm. fr. 3.19, 87.a; Anacr. fr. 39.1. ὕ][φαι̣ν̣ε̣: in Homer (e.g. *Il*.7.324) sometimes refers to the weaving of μῆτις. It could, however, be some invocation from somewhere near the start of the poem. Cf. Bakch.18.8–10 ὕφαινέ νυν ἐν|ταῖς πολυηράτοις τι κλεινὸν|ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις.

2]**κάματος**: 'toil' or 'weariness' frequently in Homer (*Il*.21.162 et al.) on the battlefield. Its privative ἀκάματος is equally possible and common, e.g. Hes. *Th*.39; Sapph. fr. 43.6; A.R.4.1656.

4]**φύλοπις ἀργαλέα**[. Together these appear only once in epic (Hom. *Il*.11.276–279) when Agamemnon is standing on his chariot rousing the Danaans.

7 **δι]απρυσίοι·**: In epic usually of battle cries, e.g. Hom. *Il*.11.275 et al.

Fr. 12 col. i. = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 4

Verse: Lines 1–8 = Strophe 2–9
Lines 9–17 = Antistrophe 1–9

The two columns of frr. 12, 13 depict what appears to be the final showdown. In the first Herakles is close to Geryon, and pauses to devise a stratagem. Deception in order to take possession of a victim's belongings

was a common paradigm in folktale morphology (Propp 1968.29). Cf. Bakch.13.44–54; Pi. *I.*4.52–55; Alkyoneus 17; Σ A.R.4.1396.

3 **δο[ι]ώ** = δοιοί (dual form of δύο). In Homer, commonly masculine e.g. *Il.*3.236 and neuter e.g. *Il.*24.648. Cf. De Martino 1982a.60–61; Musso 1969.72–74.

5 **νόωι**: possibly with the sense of *scheme*, or *guile*. **διέλẹ[ν** by apocope. Not a common form in Homer: when it does appear, it is in tmesis and takes a direct object, and so probably renders νόωι as instrumental. Cf. Hom. *Od.*18.90–94. Vid. Prest 1989.74.

7 **ἐδοάσσατό οἱ**]. δοάσσατο κέρδιον + infinitive appears frequently in Homer, e.g. *Il.*13.458–459 = *Od.*5.474. In Homer the augment is not included; Diggle (1970.5) adds the augment along with the pronoun, but does not identify οἱ. In view of the context it could refer to either Herakles or Athena. Cf. Fenik 1968.135.n. 15. **πολὺ κέρδιον**: vid. *Il.*3.41, 5.201, 7.28, 15.226, 17.417, 22.103; *Od.*9.228, 11.358, 20.316, 381; A.R.3.798. **εἶν** = εἶναι: Euboean infinitive, also found in the Cyrenaean and Chian dialects. Vid. Buck 2001.125; Maltomini 1983. 67–70.

7–8 **]π̣ολὺ κέρδιον εἶν|]οντ̣α λάθραι πολεμε[ῖν**. Rather than with his customary force (e.g. E. *Alc.*69; S. *Tr.*1096; cf. E. *HF.*366, 391–392; Verg. *Aen.*2.62; 11.704), Herakles thinks it better to overcome Geryon with guile. Cf. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1990. 23; Brize 1980. 47. Similar in theme, viz. Herakles's assault on Geryon, is Lerza's (1981.24) partial reconstruction, ἐπὶ τὸν κατι]όντα λάθρᾳ πολεμε[ῖν|τόξῳ ῥοπάλῳ τε] κ̣ρ̣αταιῶι. She believes that at this point Herakles presents himself to Geryon by jumping out before the monster and attacking him with his club and arrow. Lerza supports this idea with a curious reference to *Iliad* 16.788–793. There is not much of a parallel here and Lerza does not really explain why she refers to this passage; she just says, 'l'eroe [Herakles] balzi fuori all'improvviso e aggredisca Gerione alle spalle, come fa Apollo poco prima dell'uccisione di Patroclo.'

8 **]οντ̣α**: a participle perhaps agreeing with the subject of the infinitive. As only the ending survives, its meaning is lost. Various supplements have been proposed, but because the papyrus is so badly damaged at this point none of these is convincing: hundreds of forms could precede]οντ̣α. **πολεμε[ῖν**: the circumflex over the epsilon on the papyrus suggests an

infinitive form. This more common Attic infinitive is welcomed here to accommodate the final long position of the stanza.

9 ἀνδρὶ] κ̣ρ̣α̣ταιῶι ‘the mighty man’, perhaps Geryon. Before this (Prest 1989.75) adds ἢ ἀμφαδὸν, ‘it is better to fight the mighty man with guile *than* (to face him) *openly*’. To start the antistrophe with the comparative ἢ creates an undesirable enjambement. Stesichoros seems to like rounding-off his stanzas with the completion of a syntactic unit. This practice is quite pronounced in his *Thebaid* 203, 210, 217 etc.

10]ὰ̣ξ: the validity of Barrett’s supplement εὐρ]ὰ̣ξ hinges on an alpha that is almost non-existent; all that remains of the letter preceding ξ is a small dot. The cola expected is two shorts followed by a long: εὐρ]ὰ̣ξ scans ⏓-⁝. There is no parallel for contraction in this position. Despite this the reconstruction is plausible; it observes the main caesura of the stanza, sic]ὰ̣ξ κατεφρά̣ζ̣ε̣τ̣[ό] οἱ̣ -|⏑⏑⁝-⁝⏑⏑-. Perhaps Herakles turns himself εὐράξ to pause and devise the destruction of Geryon.

κατεφ͡ράζε̣τ̣[ό] by apocope. First attested in Hesiod (*Op*.248). The line, ‘he devised [for him]’ perhaps refers to the guile of Herakles. Cf. τοῦτο κατεφράσατο Sol.13.38.

11 πι]κρὸν ὄλεθρον̣. The spike of the arrow is often figuratively translated as ‘bitter’ (vid. Brown 2001. Cf. Skt. *piś-*, as in *píśuna-*, ‘malicious, tale bearing’ (Burrow 1955.290)): here its proper sense of ‘sharp’ (cognate with Skt. √*paśi*, to hew out, adorn. Cf. ποικίλος, Lat. pictor. πικρός is strictly a verbal adjective, made from the zero grade root + the verbal adjective suffix *-ró-*, and so ‘pricking’, like, λυγ+ρός ‘hurting’ (cf. Palmer 1980.258), Lat. ca+rus ‘loving’ (cf. Burrow 1955.156–157)) seems better, giving πι]κρὸν ὄλεθρον̣ a proleptic force, for the arrow that Herakles draws will be the one which brings destruction to Geryon. Cf. Pi. *O*.9.12–13 γλυκὺν … ὀιστόν. πι]κρὸν ὄλεθρον̣: not a Homeric phrase. However, what is common in Homer is (*Il*.11.174, et al.) αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος, (*Il*.10.174, et al.) λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος. ὄλεθρον̣: the epsilon is long before muta cum liquida.

12 καὶ Γαρυόνας ἔ]χ̣ε̣ν̣ ἀ̣σπίδα π͡ρός[: the battle is now hand-to-hand. Geryon holds his shield against the onslaught of the son of Zeus, Herakles. Page supplies, χὠ μὲν στέρνων ἔ]χ̣ε̣ν̣ ἀσπίδα πρόσ̣[θ’ which retains the general sense of the fragment. However, χὠ does not appear anywhere

in the *corpus*. To Page's credit, word-endings are observed ⏖⁝–⁝⏖–⁝⏑], but four consecutive long positions are unprecedented in the poem and seem to disrupt the overall rhythm of the period. The events of frr. 12, 13 are a battle scene with lots of activity and rapid movement. **πρ̣όϛ[**: Lobel's transcription reads πρ̣οϛ̣[. After the sigma, the promontory of the papyrus has been stripped, i.e. the top layer of fibres has been removed by damage, leaving only the bare underlayer. Any ink which may once have been there would now be destroyed. Of course there may not have been a letter there in the first place. Page thought there was, hence his supplement πρόσ[θ', which might be considered as an alternative, although it does violate the bridge. The form is found in early lyric, e.g. Alcm. fr. 73, Sapph.1.5, and Homer, e.g. *Il.*12.294, αὐτίκα δ' ἀσπίδα μὲν πρόσθ' ἔσχετο πάντοσ' ἐΐσην; *Il.*20.162–163, ἀτὰρ ἀσπίδα θοῦριν|πρόσθεν ἔχε στέρνοιο; *Il.*22.313, πρόσθεν δὲ σάκος στέρνοιο.

14 **ὁ δὲ νῦν ξίφος εἵλ]ε̣το·**: Herakles now selects his sword and tries to lop one of Geryon's heads. Cf. Hom *Od.*22.326. As only the person-ending remains a number of verbs are possible, e.g. Page's καθίκ]ε̣το. His choice of verb is unusual: καθίκετο is often read as 'touch' or 'reach' as in Homer *Od.*1.342: it does appear as 'strike', but later and more often in prose e.g. Ath. Med.a.p. Orib.1.9.1; Id.*Tox.*46; Ael.*VH.*14.3; Plu. *Ant.*12, *Alc.*7.

14–17 **τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ κρα-|τὸς ἔλα κυνέην],|καναχὴν δ' ἔχεν ἱπ]πόκομος τρυφάλει'|ἐκυλίνδετο δ' αὐτίκ'] ἐπὶ ζαπέδωι·**: the obvious parallel for this reconstruction is *Iliad* 16.793–796, τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κρατὸς κυνέην βαλε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·|ἡ δὲ κυλινομένη καναχὴν ἔχε ποσσὶν ὑφ' ἵππων|αὐλῶπις τρυφάλεια, μιάνθησαν δὲ ἔθειραι|αἵματι καὶ κονίῃσι. Herakles, like Apollo, knocks the helmet from his opponent's head, which falls and then rolls on the ground. Page's offering is not very Homeric: κρα[τὸς ἄφαρ μεγάλαι|καναχᾶι πέσεν ἱπ]πόκομος. **τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ κ̣ρ̣α[|τὸς**: ἀπό + gen. of place. Cf. Hom. *Il.*15.125, 16.793. For the marginalia beneath this line vid. McNamee 2007.372. **ἔλα**: a shortened poetic form of ἐλαύνειν. Imperfect forms are reasonably common in Homer, e.g. *Od.*4.2. Cf. Saunders 2006.279–284. **καναχά** expresses various sounds, from teeth (*Il.*19.365), musical instruments (Pi. *P.*10.39), feet of horses (Alcm.23.48), water (A.*Ch.*152), but especially the ring or clang of metal (*Il.*16.105, 794). Cf. Hom. *Il.*16.105, 794. In the Ṛgveda (10.8.8–9) Indra rips off the heads of Viçvarupa when he makes off with his cattle. **ἱπ]πόκομος τρυφάλεἰ**. Geryon's helmet is triple-plated. The

etymology is uncertain: it looks to be a zero form of q^w *tru*, 'four' + φάλος (Frisk 1970.2.937), which dismisses Hesychius's explanation: τρυφάλεἰ· περικεφαλαία, τρεῖς ἔχουσα λαμπροὺς ἀστέρας, ἢ ἥλους (Hsch. v. sq.). Cf. Hom. *Il.*12.337 ἱπποκόμων τρυφαλειῶν. Et Ar. *Ach.*1082, βούλει μάχεσθαι, Γηρυόνη τετραπτίλε. **τρυφάλεἰ**: elision at the end of a verse is unusual. It happens occasionally in lyric e.g. Sapph. fr. 2.9, λέπτον δ', in tragedy, both in lyric verse e.g. S. *Ant.*350, λασιαύχενά θ' and dialogue e.g. S. *Ant.*1031, τὸ μανθάνειν δ', *El.*1017, καλῶς δ'. **ζαπέδωι**: ζα+(intensive prefix (ζα synizesis of διά, 'thoroughly, out and out' (?)) πέδον (cf. Skt. *pad*, 'step, standing place, home', Lat. op-pidum, 'upon the ground/field').

Fr. 12 col. ii. = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 5

Verse: Lines 1–4 = Strophe 6–9
Lines 5–13 = Antistrophe 1–9
Lines 14–17 = Epode 1–4

The confrontation is now at an advanced state. Even by epic standards the death scene is vividly gory. Cf. Hom. *Il.*17.61–65; et *RV* 1.32.5–7. Despite the excitement of the passage its pace retains Stesichoros's steady and dignified flow (cf. *A.P.*9.184): he does not seem to deploy any literary techniques of asyndeton and severe brachylogy to create any impressions of acceleration and trepidation. The showdown is comparable with that of Aias's with Hektor in *Iliad* 7.260 ff. The similarities in the passages inspired Curti to outline the events of the lacuna preceding *Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii (1995.4): 'Ai fini della nostra ipotesi bisogna dunque postulare che Stesicoro abbia descritto, nella parte ora in lacuna, non solo il salto della freccia dall'arco, ma anche il raggiungimento (ed eventualmente l'attraversamento) dell' elmo.' If line 3's κ]εφ[αλ]ᾶι refers to the tip of an arrow it seems likely that Herakles has now deployed his bow and arrow. Cf. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1990.21.

1 **]ων̣ στυγε[ρ]οῦ**. There are marginalia written under this:] ... στυγεροιοτο̣ []·[, unde lect. στυγερουθανατ[. Ferrari supplements στυγεροιοτο̣ with στυγεροιο το̣[κεύς. His need for doing so is remarkable (1976.44): 'L' uso metaforica di τοκεύς era un po' nuovo e perciò il commentatore ha sentito il bisogno di chiosarlo. Infatti nella nota marginale a fianco della 2ª riga io leggerei στυγεροῖο το̣[κεύς.' Returning to more

realistic matters: the author of the marginalia seems to be identifying some source or parallel for the passage. The only surviving source for either comes from the 5th century BCE poet/philosopher Parmenides (fr. 12.11) στυγεϱοῖο τόκου. It is impossible to say what 'hateful' is qualifying here; perhaps considering what follows, 'death' seems most obvious. Cf. Santini 1970.75.

1–2 στυγε[ϱ]οῦ θανάτοι]ο τ̣ε̣[λος. This is a satisfactory reconstruction. Cf. Stesich.222A. 213 θανάτου τέλος στυγε̣ϱο[ῖο]; Hom. *Od*.12.341 στυγεϱοὶ θάνατοι. In Homer στυγεϱός appears frequently: of death, e.g. *Od*.24.414 μνηστήϱων στυγεϱὸν θάνατον καὶ κῆϱ' ἐνέπουσα; of persons and things, e.g. *Il*.8.368 'Αΐδης, *Od*.21.35 'Εϱινῦς, *Od*.5.396 δαίμων, *Il*.4.240 πόλεμος, *Od*.1.249 γάμος, *Il*.22.483 πένθος. **]ων̣ στυγε[ϱ]οῦ**. Cf:]ων στυγεϱὸν Stesich. S. 104.17.

2 θανάτοι]ο τ̣ε̣[λος: the supplement observes the caesura that terminates line seven of the strophe, viz. ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–:. Cf. Hom. *Il*.3.309, 9.411, 13.602; Thgn.1.768; A.*Th*.905; Arist. fr. 8.44; *Certamen* 223. Also with variation, e.g. Hom. *Il*.5.553; Hes. *Op*.166.

3 κ]εφ[αλ]ᾶι … ἔ̣χων. κ]εφ[αλ]ᾶι either refers to the tip of Herakles's arrow (vid. Herakles 2464. Cf. Konomis 1991.150) or one of Geryon's heads. Cf. Bakch.5.74, Tim. *Pers*.30. Vid. Maingon 1978.197–198; Lerza 25.1981; De Martino 1982b.83. **πέϱι̣** has its paroxytone accent on the papyrus confirming the anastrophe. Cf. Bakch.17.51, κϱατὸς πέϱι. The supplement [πότμον] ἔ̣χων is not impressive; there seems to be some mixing of metaphors here with κ]εφ[αλ]ᾶι πέϱι̣. Cf. Carmignani 1981.39–40. The subject of ἔ̣χων and πεφοϱυγ]μένος is uncertain; either Herakles or perhaps an arrow (vid. 6–7 infra).

3–4 πεφοϱυγ]μένος αἵματ[ι. Cf. A.R.4.668 τὴν δ' αὐτὴ φονίῳ σβέσεν αἵματι ποϱφύϱουσαν. Between αἵματ[ι and]ι τε χολᾶι the text is almost non-existent. The two supplements put forward for this lacuna, Lerza's π̣ι̣κ̣ϱο̣]τ̣α̣[τ̣α̣]ι̣, and Ferrari's θυμο]β̣[όϱω]ι, are both possible, but they hang on tiniest traces of ink.

5 ὀ]λεσάνοϱος: 'man destroying' is in apposition to Ὕδϱας. The first part of the compound is the verbal stem ὀλ added to which is the ending ες. Cf. the aorist in Hom. *Od*.10.510 ὠλεσίκαϱποι. The second part ἀνήϱ changes to -ωϱ in compounds. Cf. Hom. *Il*.2.833, φθισήνωϱ;

A. *Eu*.787, βροτοφθόρους; S. *Ph*.208, τρυσάνωρ. Epithet of perjury used in Thgn.399; Nonn. D. 28.273.

αἰολοδε[ίρ]ọυ ὀδύναισιν ῞Υδρας. The verses here give the first literary allusion to the monster's poisonous blood. The dipping of Herakles's arrows in the Hydra's blood is later confirmed in Sophokles's *Trachiniai* (573–574). The Scholiast on Hesiod (*Th*.313) says that the Hydra was called nine-headed by Alkaios and fifty-headed by Simonides. Servius on Virgil claims Simonides's Hydra had a hundred heads. Cf. Paus.2.37.4.

αἰολοδε[ίρ]ọυ: is first attested in Stesichoros. Ibykos (fr. 317.2) calls some birds λαθιπορφυρίδας αἰολόδειροι ('hidden-purplebirds'). αἰολοδε[ίρ]ọυ|ὀδύναισιν: hiatus marks the close of the first period. αἰόλος: has a general sense of quick moving, like Αἴολος i.e. changeable, and so refers to the rapid movements of the Hydra's (necks proper) bodies. Cognate with αἰόλος is Sanskrit āyu, 'life, vitality' (probably akin: ἠΰς, ἠ̈ΰς, ἐΰς, whence εὖ): cf. αἰών, Lat. aevum, Eng. aye, and so ev-er, 'ever'; being full of life, hence the term, 'full of go', and so 'rapid'. The position of ῞Υδρας adjacent to the main caesura of the stanza may be tactical, giving emphasis to the other multi-headed monster in the poem, viz. Geryon. **αἰολοδε[ίρ]ọυ**: compounds, such as this, first attested in Stesichoros, have—with some exception e.g. 222A223 κλαροπαληδὸν—an adjective + noun construction. Cf. S. *Tr*.834 αἰόλος δράκων, viz. the Hydra. **6 ὀδύναισιν ῞Υδρας**. ὀδύναισιν appears to be in apposition to αἵματ[ι ... τε χολᾶι. **σιγᾶι** (= σιγῇ) ⏔ -: the contracted long adds emphasis to the pause after ῞Υδρας·. The iota dative ending forms a penthemimeral masculine caesura, sic ⏔⁝-⏑⏑-|σιγᾶι⁝. This position is commonplace in epic poetry, e.g. Hom. *Il*.1.219 and seems pretty well established in Stesichoros: (*Gery*. fr. 1.6) ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδίαν, ⏔⁝-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; (*Gery*. fr. 15.3) πί' ἐπισχόμενος, τό ῥά οἱ, ⏔⁝-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; (*Gery*. fr. 3.1) ἐπὶ] κ̣[ύμ]αθ' ἁλὸς [βαθέα]ς, ⏔⁝-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; (210.1) Μοῖσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους, -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; it is most pronounced in his *Thebaid*, e.g. in the epode (204) οὔτε γὰρ αἰὲν ὁμῶς, -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; (222A.209) μαντοσύνας δὲ τεὰς, -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; (225) τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν δοκέω, -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; more so in the whole structure of the anti/strophe:

1 -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝⏑⏑͡-⏔-⏑⏑--‖
2 -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝⏒͡-⏑--‖
3 -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-|⏒͡-⏑⏑-⏑⏑--‖
4 -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-|⏒͡-⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝⏕-⏑--‖
5 -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-|⏒͡-⏑-⏒-⏑--|||

Other evidence in the *corpus*, albeit fragmentary, is found in Stesichoros's *Iliou Persis*: (S. 88.col. ii.8) ἔ̣λ̣θ̣ετε, μη[δ]ὲ λόγο̣[ις, -⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; cf. Ibyc. (282.3) Ἄργ]ο̣θεν ὀ̣ρνυμένοι, -]⏑⏑-⏑⏑-⁝; (12) ὑ̔μ]νῆν Κασσάνδραν, -]⏕-⏕-⁝. σιγᾶι: dative of manner, 'in silence', or even 'in secret'. Cf. *Il.*19,255 πάντες ἥατο σιγῇ. In either case some sort of deceit seems to be in play here. Cf. Hdt.2.140. If the lines preceding the strophe tell of Herakles's fight with Orthos and the herdsman Eurytion, the reference to 'in silence' or 'in secret' suggests that Herakles has not made himself apparent to Geryon. His furtive behaviour may indicate that Herakles is hiding or creeping up on the monster to begin his attack. Cf. *RV* 3.30.10. **δ' ὅ**: a substantival article, which is *resumptive* seemingly referring back to Herakles. **ὅ γ'**: in epic poetry γε is often found after pronouns, e.g. Hom. *Od.*13.113; Hes. *Th.*523–524. Vid. Denniston 1954.121–122.

6–7 **ἐπι|κλοπάδαν**: (ἐπί + κλοπή + δην). The last element of this compound is an adverbial suffix. The word does not appear often in epic; it has a general sense of trickery and wile, e.g. Hom. *Il.*22.281, *Od.*11.364, 13.291; Hes. *Op.*67. Cf. Lerza 1982.42; Carmignani 1981.39; Prest 1989.74–75. Barrett and Lobel (1973.152) identify ὅ γ' with Herakles whom they consider to be the subject of the verb [ἐ]νέρεισε, while οἰ[σ]τὸς is the subject of ἔσχισε. Page (*ibid.*) disagrees, placing the subject of ὅ γ' with οἰ[σ]τὸς which takes both [ἐ]νέρεισε and the rather late positioned ἔσχισε. Lobel believes [ἐ]νέρεισε seems more appropriate to a sword or a spear held in the hand than a missile thrown. The identification of ὅ γ' with Herakles looks favourable. Even if the subject is the arrow, it is most likely to be shot by Herakles. Page's placement of ὅ γ' with οἰ[σ]τὸς as the subject of both [ἐ]νέρεισε and ἔσχισε is unlikely; perhaps if the relative came after οἰ[σ]τὸς it might be possible.

ἐπι-|κλοπάδαν [ἐ]**νέρεισε μετώπωι**: the ellipse of a weapon (viz. the arrow) adds to the passage's pace and action. Cf. Hom. *Il.*15.359, 17.515; *Od.*9.383–384; Plu.2.344c. **ἐπικλοπάδαν** perhaps indicates that Herakles has aimed the arrow through the narrow apertures of the helmet. **ἐπι-|κλοπάδαν** [ἐ]**νέρε[ι]σε μετώπωι·**: both bridges are respected here, sic -͡⏑⏑-⁝[⏑]⏑-͡⏑⏑--||: this fragment and the quotation by Athenaios (*Gery.* fr. 1) are the best surviving examples of the anti/strophe; both observe the strictness of word endings and bridges.

7 **μετώπωι**: a locatival dative 'into the brow'. Stesichoros, like Homer (e.g. *Il.*1.524), expresses locale without preposition; this practice dies out with later classical poets. The forehead, or between the eyes, was a common target for combatants in epic, e.g. Hom. *Il.*13.610–619. It often appears in Homer as a singular accusative form (μέτωπον), usually of men e.g. *Il.*16.70, once of a horse *Il.*23.454, and in the plural of a single person *Od.*6.107.

8 **διὰ δ' ἔσχισε σάρκα**: poetic usage here, normally for the sense of 'going through' (διὰ, to (split in) two, **d(w)i-*, 'two', cf. Skt. *vi*, Lat. dvis, 'twice', bis) one would expect to see διά + gen., as in Archil. fr. 104.3, δι' ὀστέων. The arrow fired by Herakles hits its target and its effect seems obvious: as the dart strikes the forehead, the flesh is not ripped or merely divided as etymology may suggest (Skt. √ *chid*, cf. Lat. scidi, Eng. water-*shed*), but punctured. It seems more likely that it is the force of the arrow hitting Geryon which causes the head to perish, and not the toxin—however urgent—of the Hydra's blood. Vid. S. *Ant.*531–532; *Tr.*716–718. Cf. *RV* 3.33.6, 4.17.7, 10.8.9. Note the choice of verb here σχίζειν with that used in the Ṛgveda when Indra slays the triple headed Viçvarupa (10.8.9):[15] √ *bhid* + *avā*, 'split', 'pierce'. *bhid*: cognate with Latin *find-o*, Ger. *beissen*, Eng. *bite*, and so causative *bait*. Returning to the fragment: possible tmesis here (cf. Hom. *Il.*13.507, 19.90), although a better example might be line 10's διὰ δ' ἀντικρὺ σχέθεν: in any case both examples show διὰ used adverbially. In epic poetry when prepositions are followed by particles they are often adverbial: e.g. Hes. *Sc.*172–173, ἤδη γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο μέγας λῖς, ἀμφὶ δὲ κάπροι|δοιοί; Hom. *Il.*21.52, κάματος δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἐδάμνα·. Cf. Hdt.5.92. διὰ⁝ δ' ἔσχισε σάρκα [καὶ] ọ̓[στέ]α δαίμονọς|αἴσαι·, ⏓⏓⁝-⁝⏑⏑-⁝[⏓⏓]-⏑⏑-⏑⏑|: bucolic diaeresis, a common break in epic, often denoting a pause in the narrative; here, as the context clearly shows, there is no pause after the division.

8 **διὰ δ'**: anaphora repeated in line 10: both διὰ δ's coincide with the opening of the metrical period, giving the preposition the force of an emphatic connective. Cf. Verg. *Aen.*1.709; 2.306. Anaphora looks to be a feature of Stesichoros's style: in the *Geryoneis* vid. infra, elsewhere (187.1) πολλὰ μὲν ... (2) πολλὰ δὲ ...; (192.2) οὐδ' ἔβας ... (3) οὐδ' ἵκεο ...; (222A.220) τὸν μὲν ... (221) τὸν δ' ...; it is pretty common in epic,

[15] Vid. Appendix III.

Hes. *Op*.317–319; Hom. *Il*.1.436–439; Verg. *Aen*.2.45–48 (cf. Moskalew 1982); also the Ṛgveda, e.g. 4.17.9a, 9c, 10a. One obvious effect of the anaphora here is that it lends the battle scene some feeling of trepidation and pace. Vid. S. *Tr*.518–522. **δέ**: as expected, it occupies the second position in the period. When a clause or sentence opens with the preposition, δέ is often postponed following the noun which the preposition governs. Vid. Denniston 1934.185. In Homer the position of the particle is more free; statistically there are far more examples of δέ coming before the noun e.g. *Od*.4.2, than after e.g. *Od*.3.458. Stesichoros, like Homer, *seems* to favour the former construction: outside the present fragment other examples all show δέ before the noun, e.g. 219.2 ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῦ, 222A.207 ἐπὶ δ' ἁμ̣έ̣ρ̣α̣ι̣. Pindar freely uses both positions, e.g. (*O*.67) πρ̣ὸ̣ς εὐά̣νθεμον δ', (*O*.1.114) ἐπ' ἄ̣λλοι̣σι δ'; (*O*.2.93) ἐς δὲ̣ τὸ πὰν, (*O*.7.5) ἒν δὲ φίλων παρεό̣ντων. The correlation of line eight's διὰ with ten's, which gives the passage an attractive, stylistic correspondence and symmetry. Cf. Pl. *Gorg*.496 B, *Tim*.38 B; Verg. *G*.3.201; Hor. *S*.1.7.10–11.

8 δ' ἔσχισε σάρκα: the repetition of sigmas gives an unpleasant hissing sound (D.H.*Comp*.2.14), perhaps to create the hissing of the snake like Hydra. Such repetition not surprisingly occurs in Homer, e.g. *Il*.13.369, but never referring to monsters. Cf. the hissing (*s*) and licking tongues (*l*) of the snakes in Virgil's *Aeneid* (2.210–211): ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni|sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora; a similar effect is achieved by collusive alliteration, Virgil clashes silibants to create the sounds of hissing flames (*G*.3.99), in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis. Cf. Lucretius 5.608–609, interdum segetes stipulamque videmus accidere ex una scintilla incendia passim. Such techniques go back a long way in epic poetry: cf. the 'v' alliteration when Indra slays the three-headed Vritra (*RV* 1.61.10a): *vi vṛścad vajreṇa vṛtram indraḥ*. **σάρκα [καὶ] ὀ̣[στέ]α**. This part in the passage is a good example of Stesichoros's deployment of Homeric phraseology. Cf. *Od*.9.293 ἔγκατά τε σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα μυελόεντα; *Od*.11.219 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα ἶνες ἔχουσιν.

8–9 ὀ̣[στέ]α δαί-|μονο̣ς αἴσαι: despite some minor damage to the text both bridges appear respected sic, –͡⏑⏑–͡⏑⏑––||. **δαί-|μονο̣ς αἴσαι**. This is the first and only clear reference in the *Geryoneis* to the divine dispensation of Geryon's death. A decreed fate may add pathos to the monster's plight. Cf. Gentili (1976.746): 'Nonostante la sua forza immane e il

pugnace eroismo, Gerionde soccombe per decreto di un nume … alla rusede guerre di Eracle, l'eroe più forte per talento e sagacia.' Cf. *h. Dem.*300 δαίμονι αἴσῃ; *Od.*11.61 ἆσέ με δαίμονος αἶσα κακὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἶνος; et Pi. *O.*8.67 τύχᾳ … δαίμονος, *P.*8.53 τύχᾳ θεῶν, *N.*4.7 σύν Χαρίτων τύχᾳ, *N.*6.27 σύν θεοῦ δὲ τύχᾳ, S. *Ph.*1116, πότμος, ⟨πότμος⟩ σε δαιμόνων τάδ'. Similar in theme are: A. *P.V.*511–512, οὐ ταῦτα ταύτῃ μοῖρά πω τελεσφόρος|κρᾶναι πέπρωται; S. *O.C.*1443–1444, ταῦτα δ' ἐν τῷ δαίμονι|καὶ τῇδε φῦναι χἀτέρᾳ. αἴσαι is an instrumental dative.

10–11 διὰ δ' … **κορυφάν**: Stesichoros uses a conventional expression to express precision and straightness of missile fire. Cf. Hom. *Il.*5.99–100 διὰ δ' ἔπτατο πικρὸς ὀϊστός,|ἀντικρὺ δὲ διέσχε. In Homer when ἀντικρὺ is used to describe flying missiles the adverb usually precedes the preposition, e.g. *Il.*5.74 ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀν' ὀδόντας; *Il.*4.481 ἀντικρὺ δὲ δι' ὤμου χάλκεον ἔγχος. **διὰ δ' ἀντικρὺ**: tmesis with intensifying adverb gives the sense of '(completely) straight through.' There is no exact parallel for this in epic poetry, although near is ἀντικρύ διά (*Il.*5.189, 13.595), but the preposition governs the following genitive. **ἀντικρὺ**: the iota is long before muta cum liquida: this is the only example in the *Geryoneis* of a long position before muta cum liquida falling on a contracted thesis. Cf. Smyth 1897. **διὰ δ'**: the subsequent δέ often supports anaphora, cf. Hom. *Il.*2.382–384, εὖ μέν … εὖ δ' … |εὖ δέ … |εὖ δέ …; E. *Med.*399–400, πικροὺς δ' … |πικρὸν δὲ …. **οἰ[σ]ṭọ̀ς**. Despite these doubtful letters, Page's supplement seems good; no other is realistically viable. οἰ[σ]ṭọ̀ς is probably from Herakles's bow. The arrow shot, qualified by the adverb ἀντικρὺ, suggests close range.

ἀ|κροτάταν. The alpha is long before muta cum liquida. The superlative is defective, 'the top' (of the head).

10–11 ἀ|κροτάταν κορυφάṿ: as well as the line-endings (vid. *Gery.* fr. 3.1), internal rhymes are fairly frequent. Cf. (Stesich.192.1) ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος. In a passage quoted by Athenaios (3.81d = 187) there is clear rhythmic composition: πολλά δὲ μύρσινα φῦλλα καὶ ῥοδίνους στεφάνους ἴων τε κορωνίδας οὔλας. Similarly there is some evidence in the Stesichoros *corpus* for consonance (Stesich.211): κελαδῆι χελιδών.

11 κορυφάṿ. In Homer κορυφή is used to refer to mountain peaks e.g. *Il.*5.554; except of horses (*Il.*8.82–83), and of Zeus (*h. Apoll.*308–309).

Perhaps with a transferred sense to emphasise Geryon's size, 'as a mountain of a man'. Cf. of Aias in Hom. *Od.*11.556; of Greece in S. *O.T.*1201. It often has a figurative sense in Pindar, e.g. *O.*1.113–114, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται|βασιλεῦσι; *O.*2.12–13, ἕδος Ὀλύμπου νέμων|ἀέθλων τε κοφυφάν πόρον τ' Ἀλφεοῦ; et Verg. *Aen.*2.15, Fracti bello fatisque repulsi|ductores Danaum tot iam labentibus annis|instar montis equum divina Palladis arte|aedificant. Cf. the description of Humbaba in the Epic of Gilgamesh (tab. 6. col. 4). More generally, word play is often found in Homer, e.g. *Od.*1.62, 9.414, and in 6th century poetry e.g. A. *Supp.*162, 316, *Pers.*483, *Th.*145, *A.*1461; Pi. *O.*6.30, 55, *I.*6.50, *N.*2.10–12, fr. 105a2. For puns in Bakchylides vid. Burnett 1985.40, 69.

12 **ἐμίαινε δ' ἄρ' αἵματι πο̣[ρφυρέωι**. As with many battle scenes in epic there is normally an element of blood and gore, e.g. Hom. *Il* 4.146–147. μιαίνειν frequently appears with αἵματι, common in both epic and tragedy: of plumes (*Il.*16.795); of thighs (*Il.*4.146); of pollution (S. *O.C.*1374); of altars (Pl. *Lg.*782c). **δ' ἄρ'**: ἄρα denotes various manifestations of animation or, as Denniston puts it (1934.33), 'a lively feeling of interest.' All the particles, not just ἄρα, but δέ and τέ, starting from line 6 to 14 all help to push the fight along. The correspondence of ⏖-⏑⁝ δ' ἄρ' with line 14's ⏖⁝-⏑ δ' ἄρ' is also remarkable. **αἵματι**: here, as in Homer, Stesichoros has the singular form for blood. Attic tragedians often uses the plural, e.g. A. *Ag.*1293–1294; S. *Ant.*120–121; E. *Alc.*496. Cf. Verg. *Aen.*4.687; Ov. *Met.*10.210. Vid. Brenk 1990. **πο̣[ρφυρέωι**: this contracted form qualifies blood. One might translate the adjective as 'red' or 'dark'. The verbal form of πο̣[ρφυρέωι is πορφύρειν, which is a reduplicated form of φύρειν, 'to mix', metaphorically 'to confuse'. The reduplication reiterates the root and so gives the word more emphasis. This phenomenon is fairly common in Indo-European languages, in Sanskrit vid. Macdonell 1910.390, in Avesta vid. Williams Jackson 1892.193–194. As Geryon has just received an arrow to the head it is easy to imagine his blood being expelled violently from the wound.

13 **θώρακά** ⏖-⏑. Beneath the theta is the paragraphus marking what seems to be the end of the antistrophe.

τε καὶ. τε here, as in Homer, is seemingly employed *metri causa*. The position of καὶ in this final line of the stanza is noteworthy. The metre reads: ⏖-⏑⏑⁝-⁝⏑⏑-[⏑⏑-||| showing the prepositive καὶ before the caesura: this is the only certain example in the *corpus*. It occasionally occurs in Homer,

e.g. *Il.*2.782, χωομένῳ ὅτε τ’ ἀμφὶ ⁝ Τυφωέϊ γαῖαν ἱμάσσῃ; once in Ibykos—if the partial reconstruction is accepted—(282(a).28) Αἰγαῖον διὰ [πό]ντον ἀπ’ Ἄργεος, -⏓-⏑⏑|-⏓-⏑⏑|. Cf. the prepositive before a pause in Pindar, e.g. *O.*6.18 ἀ̣μφότερον μάντι̣ν τ’ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρ̣ὶ μάρνασθαι̣, -⏑⏑------⏑⏑--||-⏑---; this occurs only once in Bakchylides, 5.74 χαλκεόκρανον δ’ ἔπειτ’ ἔξ, -⏑----⏑--||.

βροτό̣ε̣ν̣τ̣[α: the word is attested elsewhere always in a passive form, once in Homer (*Od.*11.41); in Quintus Smyrnaeus (1.717) and again in Stesichoros (42): τᾷ δὲ δράκων ἐδόκησε μολεῖν κάρα βεβροτωμένος ἄκρον. The etymology of this word is uncertain: possibly cognate with the Sanskrit √ *mūr* 'to become rigid or solid', and so when referring to blood means 'to coagulate'. It seems then that prior to the shot to the crown of Geryon's head some blood has already been lost by the monster. It is possible that the congealed blood could be that of another i.e. Herakles's or Eurytion's; if it is Geryon's it could be understood from this line that the monster has already lost one of its heads. **μέλεα** 'limbs': in early poetry always as plural e.g. *Il.*7.130–131 et al. Cf. Pi. *N.*1.47.

14–17 ἀπέκλινε … βαλοῖσα̣: Stesichoros here seems to be emulating an Homeric simile, comparable to Teukros's shooting of Gorgythion (8.306–308): μήκων δ’ ὡς ἑτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἥ τ’ ἐνὶ κήπῳ,|καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίῃσί τε εἰαρινῇσιν,|ὣς ἑτέρωσ’ ἤμυσε κάρη πήληκι βαρυνθέν. Similarly, Peneleos cuts Lykon just below the ear with his sword, causing his head to hang on one side (*Il.*16. 339–341): ὁ δ’ ὑπ’ οὔατος αὐχένα θεῖνε|Πηνέλεως, πᾶν δ’ εἴσω ἔδυ ξίφος, ἔσχεθε δ’ οἶον|δέρμα, παρηέρθη δὲ κάρη, ὑπέλυντο δὲ γυῖα. Cf. *Il.*17.50–58; also Ovid's death of Adonis (*Met.*10.737–739): brevis est tamen usus in illo [Adonis];|namque male haerentem et nimia levitate caducum|excutiunt idem, qui praestant nomina, venti. Yet Geryon may not be dead! Many vase paintings of the 6th century (e.g. Eurytion II 34) show the monster still standing and fighting despite one head/body slain: just as any plant has more than one branch, so Geryon has more than one neck. Cf. the youth's broken neck in Ovid (*Met.*10.190–193): ut siquis violas riguoque papaver in horto|liliaque infringat fulvis horrentia linguis,|marcida demittant subito caput illa gravatum|nec se sustineant spectentque cacumine terram. Cf. in the Ṛgveda (1.32.7[16]), when Vṛtra, now footless and handless, continues to

[16] Vid. Appendices.

fight Indra. The determination and strength of the demon in this passage, and perhaps in the *Geryoneis*, lends a great dramatic quality.

The simile used by Stesichoros is an interesting and unusual one for a monster. The passage is believed by some (e.g. Maingon 1980) to invoke pathos and a sense of tragic loss for Geryon cut down in his blooming youth. Cf. Fowler 1987.35–36. The prime of youth and its association with the ephemerality of wild flowers appears well-developed by the time of Galen (8.16). Perhaps a slight improvement would be to interpret the flower as being the full bloom of Geryon's physical self, i.e. might and prowess. For notions of 'the flower of youth' in Homer and Archaic lyric vid. Bowra 1964.269; for the analogy between human and plant life vid. Thomson 1966.16.

The simile is not identical to Homer's: in the Homeric version the victim's head lies like a poppy laden with fruit and water, presumably to emphasise the warrior fatigued by war and armour. In the *Geryoneis*, the poet gives attention to the poppy's φύλλα, which, like the plumes of Geryon's helmets, fall to the ground. Also, the monster's heads resemble somewhat the stems of flowers. Cf. Verg. *Aen*.9. 433–437, volvitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus|it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit:|purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro|languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo|demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur. Similarly, leaves, like petals, are used in similes to express the transience of Man's life, e.g. Hom. *Il*.6.146–149; cf. Mimn.2.1–4, et dead spirits, Bakch.5.65–67. Also, Verg. *Aen*.6.309–310 quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo|lapsa cadunt folia, et A.R.4.216–217 ἢ ὅσα φύλλα χαμᾶζε περικλαδέος πέσεν ὕλης φυλλοχόῳ ἐνὶ μηνί; et Psalm 90.5–6. For discussion on Stesichoros's simile and plant life metaphor in Archaic poetry vid. Salvador 1995.181–185. Cf. Stesich.222B.fr. 35.9, ἄ̣κ̣ρον ἄνθος.

14 **ἀπέ̣κλινε**. Not common in Homer, appearing only twice: in the 'bending' of Penelope's dreams (*Od*.19.556), and the 'steering' of oxen (*h. Ven*.168). **αὐχένα**. In epic of both, men e.g. *Il*.6.117, 7.12, *Od*.10.559, and animals e.g. Hes. *Op*.815. The form αὐχένα is singular; thus only one of Geryon's heads is slain.

15 **ἐπικάρσιον**. Another accusative adjective with an adverbial meaning, 'to one side'. It appears only once in Homer (*Od*.9.70). One of Geryon's bodies is now slain and sloped back 'at an angle'. This stage of the fight was very popular on 6th century vase paintings, e.g. Herakles 2476.

ὡς ὅκα (ὅκα = ὅτε). Similes are a common feature in epic poetry, e.g. *Il.*4.462, *Od.*5.281. Cf. Pi. *P.*11.39; Ibyc. fr. 36b.1; Theoc *Id.*1.24, 7.73. Rather than a continuous linear narrative, similes can function to change the tempo and setting of a poem. Scenes of great carnage and gore can be interrupted by similes, seemingly as relief from the battlefield. These reprieves very often reveal the greater world of nature that would otherwise be absent from the poem and which are in some way disjunctive to the main narrative (vid. Porter 1972, Ben-Porat 1992, Friedrich 1981, Podlecki 1971, Anderson 1957, Coffey 1957). After all, bold similes and hyperbolic language are expected in tales glorifying the actions of gods and heroes. Cf. Longin. *De Subl.*32.6. This formula is often used when the simile is paratactic, here connecting the hard realism of battle with Nature's beauty. The length of the simile here is of the measure found in Homer; certainly more leisurely than those often found in elegy, e.g. Sol.1.14–15. This, sadly, is the only simile in Stesichoros. Marginally better evidence of figurative language is found elsewhere, much of which seems to come from the epic cycle: (209. col. i. 4) δι' αἰθέρο[ς ἀτ[ρυγέτας κατέπτ̣α̣το cf. Hom. *Il.*17.425 δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο et Hes. fr. 150.35; (9) αὐτὰ [Helen?] λακέρυζα κορώνα; (222A.203) πρόφαινε ἐλπίδας βαρείας; (222B.35.9) τέ]ρεν ἄκ̣ρον ἄνθος of youth? Cf. Pi. *P.*4.158 ἄνθος ἥβας ἄρτι; (232.3) κήδεα δὲ στοναχάς τ' Ἀίδας ἔλαχε cf. Hom. *Il.*15.191 Ἀΐδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόεντα.

The position of the ὡς ὅκα in the period, viz. -⏑⏑[-]-||, comes before the spondee which ends a run of 7 dactyls. This compares with a relatively common line-ending in Homer, e.g. *Il.*16.406, … ὡς ὅτε --|. **μ[ά]κ̣ω̣[ν**. Plant similes are common enough in epic poetry, certainly when death and disaster are being described, e.g. Hom. *Il.*4.480–487, πρῶτον γάρ μιν ἰόντα βάλε στῆθος παρὰ μαζὸν|δεξιόν: ἀντικρὺ δὲ δι' ὤμου χάλκεον ἔγχος|ἦλθεν: ὃ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν αἴγειρος ὥς|ἥ ῥά τ' ἐν εἱαμενῇ ἕλεος μεγάλοιο πεφύκει:|λείη, ἀτάρ τέ οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι; A.R.4.1682–1684, ἀλλ' ὥς τίς τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι πελωρίη ὑψόθι πεύκη,|τήν τε θοοῖς πελέκεσσιν ἔθ' ἡμιπλῆγα λιπόντες|ὑλοτόμοι δρυμοῖο κατῆλυθον; Verg. *Aen.*2.626–629, ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum|cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant|eruere agricolae certatim; illa usque minatur et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat; also in the Hebrew tradition: Job 14.2, Isaiah 34.4–5, Nahum 3.12. It is remarkable that for such a monster as Geryon the simile of a poppy is used: one might expect the crashing fall of an oak or something more substantial than a mere poppy. It is not uncommon in narrative poetry for some sort of plant metaphor to be deployed when many-headed

creatures die. Plants, be they trees or flowers, have many limbs, so the simile is perhaps inevitable. This is relatively common in older Eastern epics, in particular the Ṛgveda e.g. 1.32.5–6.[17]

The poppy simile here in the *Geryoneis* has led some to believe that Stesichoros presents Geryon in a sympathetic light.[18] This idea is interesting and one that could probably be secured if there were another two or three lines following. Sympathy for the slain is something that ties in very well with cult worship.[19] Also sympathy for monsters is not something unheard of in the Greek world, particularly in the Archaic period. A shield-band (e.g. Minotauros 15) found in Olympia and dated late 7th century presents the Minotaur wearing a tunic:[20] this is something quite distinct from other later naked representations of the beast (e.g. Minotauros 19, 22). The appearance of the Minotaur in clothes gives emphasis to the human aspect of the hybrid. Far from (re)presenting a figure of terror, many later examples, from the 6th century e.g. Minotauros 8, and in the 5th century Minotauros 23, show the Minotaur seemingly in a sympathetic light. Woodford writes (Minotauros 580): 'He [the Minotaur] soon comes to be represented rather routinely either collapsing under or fleeing from Theseus's attack, usually more terrified than terrifying; once in a while his plight—the human body deprived of a human mind and human speech—is rendered with some compassion (19. 24).' Presenting the Minotaur as a figure of pity was something that continued into the 4th century in the Etruscan tradition, although to be fair many of the Etruscan representations of the Minotaur are as bestial as the Attic versions. There is one cup dated from the first half of the 4th century (Minotauros 41) that shows the Minotaur sitting on what seems to be his mother Pasiphae, who lovingly burps the hybrid (cf. E. *Cret.*). On a 1st century BCE mosaic from Fromiae, near Rome, Theseus wrestles with the Minotaur, pressing one knee on the beast to hold him down. The hero employs no weapon, but it is clear that death for the Minotaur is imminent. What is remarkable about this example is that behind the action stands a group of figures, one of whom seems to be Ariadne, who holds her hands to her head in a gesture of despair. Some of the other figures knit their brows, denoting some kind of concern: they are clearly not

[17] For the translation of this passage vid. pp. 177–179.

[18] E.g. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1990, 1991.

[19] Vid. pp. 38–45.

[20] Cf. the clothed Minotaur on two Sicilian vases from the same century, Minotauros 6, 6a.

jubilant, as one might expect, seeing that the beast has eaten so much young human flesh. The overall impression of the composition, despite the bestial element of bones and skull remains in the foreground, is one of sympathy for the hybrid. The pity is largely expressed by the female figure: if it is Ariadne, or perhaps Pasiphae, the gesture is inevitable. Nevertheless, it does seem to present the Minotaur with some degree of compassion.[21]

16 ἅτε: the appending of τε to the relative pronoun is common in epic and lyric poetry. It is first attested here with a participle: used adverbially it has a causal force. Cf. Hdt.154, Cratin.295, Ar. *Pax*.623. **καταισχύνοισ'**: attendant participle. The blood from Geryon's wounds spills onto the monster's breastplate; the hue of some red corn poppies does resemble the colour of blood and so, as traces of blood spray over Geryon he looks as if he is being covered in fallen petals. In Homer, the participle sometimes has the sense of bringing disgrace to one's own race, e.g. *Od*.24.512 οὔ τι καταισχύνοντα τεὸν γένος. Cf. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1991.22.

ἁπ̣α̣λ̣ὸ̣ν: the softness of Geryon's flesh is the foil to the spike of Herakles's missile; the word is often used when softness is vulnerable: cf. Theoc.13.48; also Kalidasa Ç.1.10. [**δέμας**: Page's effort looks acceptable, normally referring to the body of man. Other possibilities are ῥίζα, ὄζος, but perhaps these would push the plant simile too far and make its meaning oblique. Salvador's δέραν, 'neck', is a worthy alternative to Page's δέμας: δέρα is Aeolic; the original form is perserved in Arcadian dialect δερϝά, also Avestan and Sanskrit *grīvā*. Cf. Hom. *h. Ven*.88 ὅρμοι δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν.

17 αἶψ'. The meaning of this is not obvious here. Cf. Barrett 2007. 20. The sense of 'suddenly' might mean here 'prematurely', indicating that the flower of Geryon's youth/life has fallen at an early age. Sometimes the 'necks' of flowers when manhandled 'suddenly' droop and lose their petals. Cf. Ovid *Met*.10.190–193. A common adverb in Homer, e.g. *Il*.4.70, *Od*.15.193. Stesichoros seems to be fond of it, e.g. S. 104.1; 222A.291, perhaps because it lends a certain lively pace to the narrative. **ἀπὸ**: Stesichoros seems to be quite free in his usage of preposi-

[21] Cf. Kentauroi et Kentaurides 406a.

tions; here ἀπὸ stands alone, giving it an adverbial sense. **φύλλα**. In epic and Herodotos always in plural of 'leaves' (*Il.*1.234, al.; Hdt.8.115). Cf. Hdt.8.138 [ῥόδον] ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα; Theoc. *Id.*11.26 ὑακίνθινα φύλλα, 18.39 λειμώνια φύλλα. **φύλλα βαλοῖσα**: cf. E. *Hec.*574 φύλλοις ἔβαλλον.

Fr. 13 = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 42 a+b

The two pieces of papyri appear to come from the same column: fibres from column A seem to resemble those of column B. However, it is not clear how the two sit together. The text on column A is too thin for any interpretation. Column B does offer some clues to the nature of the fragment. The reference to weapons and vital body areas (κε]φαλάν and ἦτορ) suggests a combat scene. If so, the fragment's position is somewhere around frr. 12, 13.

a.

3. ⟦~~ταν~~⟧ [: the word, or perhaps even the whole line, has been struck by the first editor of the text; this is confirmed by dots superscripted over each letter. It occurs sometimes, especially in verse texts, that a scribe carries a word over into the wrong line, or inadvertently repeats the last word of one line at the beginning of the next. Page has assumed this, thus placing ταν in line two. However, since ταν can also start a word, its position (although void) could still stand on line three.

b.

1 κε]φαλάν: of Orthos or Geryon, perhaps the tip of Herakles's arrow.

2 Both ἰο]δόκα 'quiver' and ὀιστο]δόκα 'holding-arrows' fit the epode's metre. Cf. A. *Pers.*1020; A.R.1.1194; Poll.10.142; et Herakles 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470. **3 πόκα**. This Doric form is predominant in Stesichoros appearing thrice elsewhere (222A.214; 223; 222B.35.10); there are no traces of the Attic form. **4 ἀνὴρ**. The identification of this 'man' is unknown; possibly Geryon, as Hesiod describes him as the strongest of all men (*Th.*981–982). Cf. Maingon 1978.280, Lazzeri 2008.98.

5 ἦτορ. 'heart'. The object of Herakles's arrow? Cf. De Martino 1982b.84.

Fr. 14 = Str. 3.2.11 (i.228 Kramer)

Verse: Lines 1–8 = Anti/strophe 2–9

The passage is concerned with the birthplace of Geryon's herdsman, Eurytion. The lemma to this is odd. Strabo (3.2.11) says that 'the ancients seemed to call the Baetis, Tartessos and Gadeira and the nearby islands Erytheia', meaning that once the whole area was known as Erytheia. Strabo continues, 'Because of this, so it is said, the ancient writers accept Stesichoros [his authority] concerning the herdsman of Geryon since he [Eurytion] was born ...' σχεδὸν ἀντιπέρας κλεενᾶς Ἐρυθείας. If, as the ancient writers believed, Erytheia was the whole area and Eurytion was born almost opposite it (as Stesichoros wrote), one wonders where the birth took place. It seems to indicate that Eurytion was born outside the vicinity of Erytheia and all its islands and rivers, somewhere perhaps on the mainland, either Spain or North Africa.

Besides the entries by Herodotos (4.152), the Greeks during the archaic period did not write much about Iberia; consequently there is a substantial lacuna between the Phoenician and Roman periods. This presents the problem of reconstructing the geography of the *Geryoneis* during the 6th century: naturally rivers, mountains and settlements do not move, but the names of these sites in southern Spain do alter causing some confusion as to where certain sites lay. Strabo (3.2.11) says that the ancients called the Baetis, the Tartessos, Gadeira and the nearby islands Erytheia, but by the time of the 6th century (hence the reference by the poet to the river and the herdsmen) the river was called the Tartessos. Concurring with this is Pausanias's reference (6.19.3) to the river, that claims it was once called the Tartessos, but was later called the Baetis.[22] There is no mention of any port or city of Tartessos that was believed to be located on the river's mouth by the Atlantic. Tartessos is the area of southern Spain between the Guadalquivir valley and the Guadiana lying to the West of the Columns of Herakles (D.S.4.18.5). Schulten writes that as early as the 10th century BCE the Tartessos's resources were used by the Hebrews, an area they called Tarshish: (1950:27) 'Nach sicheren Zeugnissen des Alten Testamentes ... schon zur Zeit des Königs Salomo, um 950 v. C., ein reiches Emporium und das Ziel phönizischer Seefahrt.'

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[22] Cf. Eust.337.

In the Old Testament, the Tartessos was known by the Hebrews as the most Western limit of the world (*Genes.*10.4, 1 *Chron.*1.7.) and was celebrated by the Phoenicians as an emporium (*Ezek.*27.12–13. cf. 28.13 et Isaiah.23.6–7). During this time the site was to become one of the finest and busiest colonies of Tyre with much of its wealth deriving from the silver extracted in the region of Sierra Moren (Schulten.1957.485). Still in the 8th century, the Tartessos was famous for its natural resources, with many of its rich metals being extracted from the hinterland of Onoba for trade with Gadeira and the Phoenician emporia. The thriving city to which writers of the Old Testament refer is 'unquestionably', Schulten believes (1955.37)—largely due to the longstanding commerce and wealth associated with the site—identical to the city at the delta of the Guadalquivir that was known to the Greeks in the 7th century. During the Phoenician occupancy, the area around the lower course of the Baetis (River Tartessos) was called, according to Strabo (Str.3.2.12–13), the Tartessos. The first record of Greeks in the Tartessos—around the middle of the 7th century—comes from Herodotos: (4.152) 'the Samians put out to sea and were eager to sail to Egypt, but were blown off course by an easterly wind which did not cease until they reached—by divine providence—the pillars of Herakles at Tartessos. It was at this time an unused port; wherefore, of all the Greeks of whom we have exact knowledge, none brought back so great a profit from their wares.' The site was of commercial importance during this time with many traders coming from north Africa, in particular Libya (Hdt.4.196). Almost a century later, Greeks from Phokaia came to the Tartessos and formed an alliance with the king of the Tartessians, Arganthonios (Hdt.1.162). The Phokaians were the most daring of Greeks travellers during the 7th and 6th century and provided a very important link for mainland Greeks and the Tartessos. Phokaians colonists set up ports throughout the Mediterranean, including Massilia and Malaca. Their attention turned to nearer home when the Phoenician colonies East of Gibraltar fell, such as the island Maenace (near Malaga), and the Spanish mainland and the Tartessos had temporarily dried up in the middle of the 6th century (for the Phokaians in the West: vid. Schulten (1950.63 ff.)).

Aristotle, in his *On Amazing Things Heard* (843b.28), relates a story that when the first Phoenicians sailed to Tartessos they stocked up with so much silver from the area that when returning home they had to make extra ships out of the silver to transport it all back; even the anchors were made of silver. Schulten (1955.263) believes that in the 6th century the

Carthaginians destroyed the city of Tartessos; thereafter the Tartessos referred to the islands of Gadeira. By the time of the 2nd and 3rd century accounts of the Tartessos vary. For some writers, the Tartessos refers to the whole of Spain (Rutil. *Itin.*1.356; Sil. *Pun.*13.674); others more frequently give it the general location of the city in and around the river in the south; occasionally it is associated with the river's middle and lower course that was once inhabited by the Turdulians (Str.3.1.6). The city fell during the Roman occupancy, the details of which are not clear, but it seems probable that the city was devastated during the conflict between the Romans and the Iberians (Str.3.4.5; Plin.3.1, 4.22, 7.48; Mela.2.6). In Roman literature the word and its derivative adjectives were synonymous with the West e.g. Ov. *Met.* (14.416) Sparserat occiduus Tartessia litora Phoebus (cf. S.I.3.339; Claud. *Epist.*3.5.14). For an overview of modern/ancient references and bibliography for southern Spain vid. De Alarcâo 1995.

The two references to the city of Tartessos by Herodotos (4. 152, 192) are the closest records chronologically to the time of Stesichoros's poem: both passages denote a place of flourishing wealth and social/political activity. Although there is no direct evidence of the city being included in the poem, it is possible that it continued to thrive during the 6th century and so perhaps had some place in the *Geryoneis*. Strabo and Apollodoros say that Erytheia was called Gadeira (the town, modern-day Cadiz), lies roughly sixty kilometres North-West of Gibraltar. The word comes from the Phoenician, גְּדֵר 'enclosing wall' (in the Old Testament it often of temples e.g. Ezek.42.10. Pliny (*H.N.*4.120) thinks the name comes from a Punic word *gadir*, meaning, 'hedge'. Cf. D.P.456; Avien. *Or.Mar.*267–269.), an etymology suggesting a city. Plato (*Criti.*114b) writes that the name Gadeira was given to one of Poseidon's sons, twin of Atlantis, who ruled over the lands reaching from the Pillars of Herakles to the region after which the king was called, Gadeirus. The foundations of its city were believed to have been laid by the Phoenicians of Tyre in the 8th century. Strabo (3.5.5) states that the founding of the city was initiated by an oracle given to the Tyrians ordering them to send a colony to the Pillars of Herakles; after three attempts to inaugurate the site, the Tyrians finally laid the foundations in the far Western end of Gadeira and built their temples on the opposite eastern edge. In the eastern port there was a sanctuary to Herakles, where the hero received cult worship. Two inscribed bronze columns which were believed by some to be the original pillars of Herakles, stood in the Herakleion at Gadeira (Pherecyd. *FGrH.*3f294). Strabo's story omits to say

that Herakles was equated with the Phoenician god Melqart. Cf. Herodotos 2.44.

For the Greeks, Gadeira was the most westerly point in the known world: Pindar (*N*.4.69) warns sailors not to travel west of Gadeira, as it cannot be crossed. Not a great deal was written of the island on which Gadeira was built, perhaps because it was unknown to the Greeks, until Strabo's detailed description of the area: he places Gadeira 750 stadia North-West of Calpe and about 70 from the mouth of Baetis (3.1.9). According to Pliny (*H.N*.4.120.3–12), the island is twelve miles long and three miles wide; its nearest point to the mainland is a distance of 700 feet and its circuit is fifteen miles. Strabo (3.5.3) says that despite many of its workers being out at sea, the population of Gadeira was still high having five hundred of its own Gaditanian soldiers in its barracks (cf. Str.5.1.7). The island is described as having a dividing channel of water, like a river (Mela.3.6) which according to Strabo (3.5.3) has a breadth of only one stadium (606 ft). Philostratos (*V.A*.5.4.4 ff.) says that the city of Gadeira is situated at the extreme end of Europe and that its inhabitants are so excessive in their religious practices that they had to set up an altar to old age, death and Herakles. Both of the passages imply that at some point in the past there was some discrimination between the island(s) of Gadeira and the island Erytheia; in the first ἐοίκασι δ' *οἱ παλαιοὶ* καλεῖν … Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὴν νήσους Ἐρύθειαν; in Apollodoros, ἣ [Ἐρύθεια] *νῦν* Γάδειρα καλεῖται. Useful as these qualifications are, they do not explicitly state whether during the 6th century the island of Erytheia was viewed separately from Gadeira. Summarising the sources discussed above, it is legitimate to propose that in Stesichoros's time Geryon's Erytheia sat on the site of modern day Cadiz, i.e. Gadeira. Also, when considering the confliction of sources surrounding the geography, it is certainly convenient to accept this proposal.

Judging by the metre this quotation is incomplete. There seems to be a break in the text between Ἐρυθείας and Ταρτησσοῦ, illustrated thus ⏑⏑–⏑ + –⏒–. One might read, as Page et al. do, Ἐρυθείας Ταρτησσοῦ which would result in a perhaps unattractive five consecutive long positions. Both lines still retain their dactyls with very little contraction except near the end of the second sequence. The first line is only four words long and so could be placed in a number of positions in both anti/strophe and epode. Stesichoros appears to be quite strict regarding word ending; observing this stringency can be useful when trying to place fragmentary text into position. The first part of Strabo's quotation

fits nicely into the second line of the anti/strophe: ⏕⁝-⏑⏑-|⏕⁝-⁝⏑⏑-, σχεδὸν ἀντιπέρας κλεενᾶς Ἐρυθεί-; ας[occupies the first short position of line three. The most favourable position for the second part of Strabo's passage seems to be the final lines of the anti/strophe: (7) ⏕]-⏑⏑-|, ⏕]Ταρτησσοῦ (8) ⏑⏑-⏑⁝⏑-⏕-⏑⏑-, ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγὰς ἀπείρονας ἀρ- (9) ⏕-⏑⏑⁝-⁝⏑⏑-⏑⏑-|||, γυροριζου ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτ͡ρας. Despite line eight all the word-endings are observed. One potential problem with the arrangement is the gap of about twelve dactyls standing between the first part of the quotation and the second. One might consider transposing the order of the two, making ... κευθμῶνι πέτ͡ρας the end of a strophe, and σχεδὸν ... the second line of an antistrophe, thus reducing the gap to three dactyls. Other arrangements have been put forward: e.g. Page believed that the quotation fitted the first five lines of an epode. This too might be considered; however, he did not appear to give much consideration to word endings; moreover it is not explained why he chose to place these line in an epode. Despite this his decision to place the passage in the epode has been followed by many later readers, e.g. Lazzeri. Cf. Mancuso 1921.218–219.

1 σχεδὸν. Adverb of degree: σχε-(ἔχω)-δον, the suffix is the remains of an old case ending, like (Hom. *Od.*14.330) κρυφηδόν. Cf. *Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.7. Vid. Schwyzer 1953.1.626. It frequently appears in Homer referring to place (e.g. *Od.*5.392), often with verbs of motion (e.g. *Il.*9.304). Probably missing is a verb of motion.

ἀντιπέρας: ἀντί 'facing' + πέρα 'across' = opposite. The first element was originally a noun, lost in Greek, but surviving in Hittite, viz. loc. sg. of *ha-an-za* 'face', and so 'in the front of, facing'. Vid. Szemerényi 1991.1698. Prepositional phrases fused with adverbs are reasonably common; this particular one appears only once in Homer (*Il.*2.635). The geography of the area shows many inlets that can be described as being 'nearby opposite Erytheia'. Any of these mainland sites could be the venue of Eurytion's birth. For the adverb with reference to islands cf. Th.1.100.2.2, 2.66.1.3, 2.83.3.8, 2.86.3.2, 7.31.2.4, 8.62.3.2, 8.100.2.3, 8.101.2.4; X. *HG.*6.2.9.9, *An.*1.1.9.2. Cf. Archestr. fr. 8.2, Hecat. fr. 5.2, Timae. fr. 164.466, Ar.Byz. 2.130.7.

2 κλεενᾶς: other texts (e.g. Page's) give the Attic/Ionic form κλεινᾶς; as the uncontracted form is attested elsewhere in the *corpus* (S. 118.6 T]ροΐ̣ας κλεεγ̣νο), there is no obvious reason why it cannot stand here.

The place is only famous by its association with Geryon, nothing else. Antimachos (fr. 66.2) called the island, ἀγακλυμένη Ἐρύθεια. Cf. Pi. *O.*3.2, *O.*6.5–6, *N.*1.2.

Ἐρυθείας. Ἐρυθ- εία: the stem is a zero-grade form prefixed by a prothetic vowel, thus *ə*rudh*-; its ending is Ionic for the Attic -αῖα. Erytheia is in the Far-West as its name suggests, 'red' (cf. Lat. ruber, Fr. rouge, It. rosso, O.E. rēod, Skt. √ *rudh*) i.e. the point where the sun sets. Cf. the East's ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς. Erytheia was also the name of Geryon's daughter, the mother of the mythical founder of Nora (now Sardinia), Norax (Paus.10.17.5; cf. St.Byz.279). Geryon's association with Erytheia is established very early in Greek sources, e.g. Hes. *Th.*289–292. In these early accounts no geographical references are given; it is just seen as a mythical island situated somewhere in the Far-West. The earliest location of the island is given by Herodotos (4.8): Γηρυόνην δὲ οἰκέειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένον τὴν Ἕλληνες λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροισι τοῖσι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ. Cf. Str.1.2.12. Many later sources merely refer to Erytheia as Geryon's island and the venue of Herakles's 10th labour,[23] e.g. Apollod.2.5.10; D.P.558 ff.; Ptol. *Geog.*4.1.6; Ael. Dion.3.1.275; Mela 3.47.1.

4–5 **Ταρτησσοῦ ποταμοῦ**. The origin of the river lies in the mountains that run north to south, between the Sierra Morena and the Sierra Nevada. Aristotle (*Met.*350b.2) says its source is the Pyrene (the Pyrenees); his reference to the river provides an alternative venue for the pillars of Herakles which he claims are by the mouth of the Tartessos. This is, presumably, the reason why the island by the quay of the river is called by Strabo (3.4.6) 'Herculis Island'. The ancients estimated its length at around 3000 stadia (300 geog. miles), with its lower course forming into two arms that merge into a lake with the debouchure of the Atlantic. Vid. Marcianus's *Peripl*; Aethic. Isther, *Cosmograph*. Strabo (3.2.3) in his detailed account of the river measures it at only 1200 stadia from the sea. Modern estimations for the river's length show that the river is in fact 423 miles long and receives 806 affluents, some of which are approximately 100 miles long. The Guadalquivir is fed by the melt water and vauclusian springs of the Baetic ranges and its left bank tributaries, particularly the Genil, are the central sources of flow.

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[23] There is one contradiction to this from the entry by Hekataios (*FGrH* 1F.26).

The countryside through which the river flows was famed for its fertility (Mart.8.28.5–6) and wealth (Str.3.2.1). As well as tin being found in the river itself, copious amounts of silver were hidden in the earth around the towns of Ilipa and Sisapon, especially around Cotinae with both copper and gold buried in its rich soil. Cf. Σ A.R.4.973 ὀρείχαλκος· εἶδος χαλκοῦ ... μνημονεύει καὶ Στησίχορος καὶ Βακχυλίδης. The inference from Stesichoros's allusion to the richness of the soil (*Gery.* fr. 14.5–6) is that the earth in Tartessos was still mined and of widespread fecundity. For the Tartessos and colonization vid. Andreotti 1991.49–62. As silver and gold were taken from the area from as early as the 10th century and continued to be extracted at least up to the 1st century CE, it is likely that these resources were still taken out from the earth in the 6th century. Schulten (1957.485) believes that silver was still being extracted from the Tartessos towards the end of the 6th century by the Carthaginians. It is improbable, even if the Iberians were still under the influence of Phoenicians, that they just stopped mining or that the metals were no longer obtainable either due to economics or poor mining practices. It certainly looks likely that the area continued to enjoy prosperity and commercial growth; Gadeira and Tartessos would be major trading posts for merchants travelling from all over Western Europe and north Africa, and in order to accommodate the traffic of trade, large ports would be needed. The earliest man-made harbour recorded in the bay of the Tartessos river was around the 3rd century BCE; due to the mines scattered around the hills that surround the river Tartessos (Str.3.4.2), harbours were spread all over the Western coast. Transporting heavy minerals would be easier by the many rivers leading out to the Atlantic than by road (vid. Str.3.1.9).

5 ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγὰς ἀπ.... There is some evidence for alliteration. It is not as pronounced as, say, Sophokles's (*OT.*371) τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματ' εἶ. The definition given here is an orthodox one, viz. the repetition of the consonants, as opposed to a succession of corresponding mutes or liquids. The most obvious examples are: **πο**ταμοῦ **πα**ρὰ **πα**γὰς (cf. Hom. *Il.*20.9 = *Od.*6.124, πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα, *Il.*11.179 πολλοὶ δὲ πρηνεῖς τε καὶ ὕπτιοι ἔκπεσον ἵππων), et (222A.201–202), **μὴ** ... **μ**ẹ**ρί**μ**ν**ας **μη**δέ **μοι**, (222A.205) **θε**οὶ **θέ**σαν ἀ**θά**νατοι (cf. Hom. *Il.*9.637, θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι θεοὶ θέσαν). Another form of rhyme evident in Stesichoros is assonance: of α (*Gery.* fr. 14.3) παρὰ παγὰς ἀπ ...; (222.205) ... σαν ἀθάνατοι κατ' αἶαν ịρὰν; of ε and ω (*Gery.* fr. 12 col. ii.7) ... ν [ἐ]νέρεισε μετώπωι·; of ε (243)

δ' ἐπέπεμπον (assonance with ε is the most common of vowels in Homer: e.g. *Il.*15.552 Ἕκτωρ ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ ...). Cf. Verg. *Aen.*6.570–572.

παρά: with an acc. it appears twice in Stesichoros (cf. *Gery.* fr. 10.1) and on both occasions the verb is lost, but its sense is clearly '*beside* the boundless springs ...'. Stesichoros does use terminal accusatives (e.g. *Gery.* fr. 3.1–2, 192.3, 222A.299), but seems to prefer, as here, the more concrete construction of preposition + acc. **παγὰς** 'springs'. Homer, as here, always uses the plural, e.g. *Il.*20.9. Stesichoros freely flaunts his poetic licence: the final vowel of accusative plurals usually scans long, but here is short; this sometimes occurs in epic, e.g. Hes. *Th.*60, 267, Hom. *Il.*8.378, *Od.*17.232, and Doric lyric, e.g. Alcm. fr. 8.5. Frequently in Homer of rivers, often as their sources, e.g. *Il.*20.9, 21.312, *Od.*6.124: cf. Hdt.1.189; A. *Pr.*89, 434, *Pers.*311. Stesichoros's ordering of adjectives is noteworthy: he places the less vivid adjective before the colourful one. Vid. Demetr. *Eloc.*2.50; Pl. *Rep.*3.411.a. Cf. Pi. fr. *Hymn* 30.2 παρὰ παγᾶν; E. *H.F* 390 παρὰ πηγάς; A.*Pers.*238 ἀργύρου πηγή; also Hes. *Th.*282 Ὠκεανοῦ περὶ πηγάς.

ἀπείρονας. ἀ-περ-ϝων, 'without end'; a feature of the Ionic dialect is the lengthening of the vowel preceding a lost digamma. A common epithet in epic to describe the earth, e.g. Hes. *Th.*187; Hom. *Od.*1.98, also for an expanse of water, e.g. Hes. *Th.*678; Hom. *Il.*1.350, *Od.*4.510.

5–6 ἀργυρορίζου: first attested in Stesichoros. This appears to be a reference to the silver mines of the region (Schulten 1955.42): 'Die 'im Silber wurzelnden Quellen' des Flusses Tartessos sind der dichterische Ausdruck für den Ursprung des Guadalquivir im Silbergebirge von Linares, dem 'Silberberg' des Avien (291) und der Geographen [Str.3.2.10].' The digging for precious metals and utility materials had long been active in the Iberian peninsula; since the arrival of the Phoenicians in the 10th century, the colonists had capitalised on the rich metal resources of the area. Vid. Plin.*H.N.*33–37. Stesichoros's ἀργυρορίζου is proverbial for the Tartessos's fecundity: its wealth is also alluded to in the lines of Anakreon (fr. 361). For references to Spanish silver in general vid. Timaios *De me ausc.*87; Plb.3.57.3; Str.147; Mela 2.86; Plin.33.96; Martial 7.86.7. The formation of compounds is not exclusively adjective + noun. Comparable are: (188) λιθαργύρεον noun + adjective; (Σ A.R.4.973) ὀρείχαλκος, a determinative compound i.e. the second element being determined by

the first: note that the first element is a case form, viz. dative singular. Cf. Panyas. P.Oxy. 221 ix 8; v. 93 Erbse πῶ[ς] δ' ἐπορ[εύθ]ης ῥεῦμ' Ἀ[χ]ελ[ω]ΐου|ἀργυ[ρο]δίνα,|Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῖο [δι'] εὐρέος ὑγ[ρ]ὰ κέλευθα; E. *HF*.395–397, πέραν|δ' ἀργυρορρύτων Ἕβρου|διεπέρασεν ὄχθων; *Cycl*.293–294, ἥ τε Σουνίου|δίας Ἀθάνας σῶς ὑπάργυρος πέτρα; Bakch.12.42 ἀργυροδίνα; Tim. fr. 801 σὺ δὲ τὸν γηγενέταν ἄργυρον αἰνεῖς.

7 ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτρας: caves are often birthplaces, particularly for the divine, e.g. Zeus's, under Mount Aigeon (Hes. *Th*.468–480), at Dikte (D.S. 5.70; Verg. *Geog*.4.153; Mount Ida (Call. *Hy*.1.51; Ovid *F*.4.207; Lactantius Placidus (on Statius *Theb*.4.784)); Dionysos was nursed by Ino in a cave at Brasias (Paus.3.24.4); Hermes was conceived and born in a deep shady cave (Hom. *h. H*(4) 1–14; *h. H*(18) 1–19; Apollod.3.10.2); Iason was reared in Cheiron's cave (Pi. *P*.4.102–104) as was Aristaios (A.R.2.509–510). For caves as dwelling places vid. West 1966.371, Larson 2001.78–87. The Paṇis had a rich herd hidden far beyond the mythical river Rasa. Before Indra's raid the cattle were kept in a cave (*RV* 10.108.7). Cf. Hom. *h. H*.229 πέτρης ἐς κευθμῶνα; E. *Cyc*.407 ἐν μυχοῖς πέτρας.

κευθμῶνι. The word usually refers to the depths of the earth: ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης Hes. *Th*.158, 300, 334; *Il*.22.482; *Od*.24.204. Cf. P. *N*.10.56; A. *Eu*.1036; S. *Ph*.1083, ὦ κοίλας πέτρας γύαλον; E. *Hel*.189–190, πέτρινα μύχατα|γύαλα. **πέτρας**: in error the codex gives κευθμώνων πέτραις. Remedy is found in the simple transposition of case and reducing both plurals to singulars, making πέτρας genitive of material; its epsilon stays short before muta cum liquida.

Fr. 15 = Athen.11. 499ab (3. 100 Kaibel) = 181

Verse: Lines 1–4 = Anti/strophe 4–7

The inclusion of the Pholos episode in the *Geryoneis* is questionable. The story was popular in the 6th century and remained so right into the 5th century, e.g. Epich. fr. 78 (Kassel-Austin), fr. 290 (Kassel-Austin); also Aristophanes's Κένταυρος. Possibly there was some digression in the narrative. Lerza believes that Pholos is mentioned here because Pholos, like Geryon, was killed by the poison on Herakles's arrow (1981.20), 'poichè anche Folo aveve subito la stessa sorte.' This is possible as there

appear to be references in the poem to some of Herakles's other labours, e.g. *Gery.* fr. 3. Cf. Paus.8.3.2.

1 **σκύφιον** … **δέπας**: reference to the cup used to serve Herakles by Pholos is given in Theokritos (*Id.*7.148–149): ἦρά γέ πα τοιόνδε Φόλω κατὰ λάϊνον ἄντρον|κρατῆρ' Ἡρακλῆι γέρων ἐστάσατο Χείρων. In Diodoros (4.12.3), Dionysos presented the jar of wine to a centaur with instructions not to open it until Herakles had arrived. Apollodoros (2.5.4) says at the request of Herakles, Pholos dispensed the wine from a huge *pithos*.

σκύφιον. Diminutive form of σκύφος in apposition to δέπας. 'Cup', especially used by peasants and country folk, e.g. Hom. *Od.*14.112. **δέπας**: frequently in Homer (*Il.*1.471, *Od.*10.316, et al.), and again in Stesichoros (*Gery.* fr. 1.2) to describe the Helios's vessel. **ἔμμετρον** is predicative. When a preposition is prefixed to a substantive it takes on an adjectival force, and so, '(having the capacity to hold) in the measure of three flagons'.

2–3 **τριλάγυνον πί' ἐπισχόμενος**. By the end of the 5th century Herakles's association with concupiscence was established, e.g. Ar.*Eir.*741. **ἐπισχόμενος** is a circumstantial participle. Cf. Pl. *Phd.*117c καὶ ἅμ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπισχόμενος καὶμάλα εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως ἐξέπιεν; A.R.1.472–473, ἦ, καὶ ἐπισχόμενος πλεῖον δέπας ἀμφοτέρῃσιν|πῖνε χαλίκρητον λαρὸν μέθυ; Lucianus *Tox.*37 ἐπισχόμενοι πίωμεν. **τριλάγυνον**: τρι+λάγυνον = three flasks. New compounds formed from cardinal numbers and nouns are relatively frequent in Stesichoros, e.g. 223.4 διγάμους τε καὶ τριγάμους. Wine was kept in goat-skins or earthenware jars: the former being easier to carry and handle, the latter often used for storage and stability. The exact values of measured capacity are not certain, and measurement varied from period and region, as did the consistency in which wine was mixed (cf. κρατήρ, Mod. Gr. κρασί) with water. Cf. Hes. *Op.*595; Ar.*Eq.*1187; Athen.11.100a. It would be a nice touch if the vase from which Pholos decants the wine were one used for storage; then Herakles could lift it to his lips and drink.

3 **πί'** = **πῖνεν**. Quasi-caesura between compound elements, πί' ἐπισχόμενος, sic ⏑⏑–⁝⏑⏑–⁝. **ῥά** (ϝ)**οἱ**: if the digamma is not respected here, there is no parallel for the hiatus in this position. Cf. the occurrence of ῥά οἱ after the second dactyl here, ⏓⁝–⏑⏑–⁝⏑⏑(ϝ)οἱ, with Homer *Il.*20.146, 22.470.

3–4 **τό ῥά οἱ παρέθηκε Φόλος κεράσας**. τό: the article here has a relative force. **παρέθηκε** by apocope. **κεράσας** is a attendant participle. Cf. Panyassis fr. 4.1: τοῦ κεράσας κρητῆρα μέγαν χρυσοῖο φαεινόν|σκύφους αἰνύμενος θαμέας πότον ἡδὺν ἔπινεν. **Φόλος**. According to Apollodoros (2.5.4), Pholos was the child of Silenos and a Melian nymph. Pholos drew the poisonous arrows from the slain during the hero's battle with the kentaurs.

Smaller Fragments

In this edition some of the smaller fragments have not been included. There are three main reasons for this: firstly, some of the fragments are so tiny that they warrant no commentary, and as so little can be said, there seems no point in including them in the text. The second reason is the problem of ascribing such tiny pieces to the *Geryoneis*: granted some do bear words that are associated with warfare leading some to suppose that the fragments belong to the battle scene of the song. However, words such as P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 45]πτολε[μ-, 'war' could quite easily belong to a number of Stesichorean compositions. The third reason is a simple one: their inclusion add very little to the arguments already set out in the Introduction.

There are, however, some fragments substantial enough to be included in the commentary. Some of these can be allocated, albeit tentatively, near larger fragments. Others that bear a complete word—in some cases two!—are also included because parallels can be sought in epic and lyric poetry.

Fr. 16

The two columns come as separate pieces with no extrinsic indication of the distance between them. Could be taken together, or in different contexts, with the first column belong to the injustice of theft of the cattle, and the other referring to the Pholos fragment.

Col. i.

3 **]αδικω**[: any injustice attached to the raid on Erytheia would add to the pathetic portrayal by the poet of Geryon (cf. fr. 8.10). This form could be read as an adverb,]ἀδίκω[ς cf. Hom. *h.Merc.*316, Hes. *Op.*260, 272, 334.

Col. ii.

2 **σινοκ**[: perhaps -σιν ὅκα: cf. Hom. *Od.*7.72; Pi.*O.*1.19.

3–4 **δωκε**[... **ἔνθεν**[: cf. E.*Tr.*1176.

5 **οἶνον**. This seems to be the only word in the column of any use, the others suggest very little. If Pholos were included in the *Geryoneis* the most obvious choice would be to place this fragment somewhere near fr. 15.

Fr. 17

2 . ̀. . .]**α̣μώνιον ε** . [: not too much weight can be placed on this line, however one might choose to read Τελ]α̣μώνιον. If accepted it gives credence to the idea that P.Oxy. 2617 contains more than one composition.[24] Cf. Ibyc. S. 151.34 καὶ μέ]γας Τ[ελαμ]ώ̣νιος ἄλκι[μος Αἴας.

Fr. 18

1 **ἐ]ν̣ κονίαις̣**[: cf. Alc. fr. 283.15.

3 **φ]ύλοπ̣ι̣ν̣ α̣**[: Lobel's φ]ύλοπ̣ι̣ν̣ α̣[ἰνήν is a good supplement, common in epic poetry e.g. Hom. *Il.*4.15.

Fr. 19

1 **ὣς ἤνε̣**[: either Lobel's ὣς ἤνε̣[πε (e.g. Pi. *N.*10.79) or my ἤνε̣[ίχετο (e.g. A.fr. 44.A613a.4, fr. 307.2), both are reasonably well attested.

Fr. 20

2 **μ]ε̣γ' ἀρ̣ίστοι** [: frequent in epic poetry, e.g. Hom. *Il.*6.209.

3 **ἐρ̣⟨ε⟩ικ̣ομενο̣**[: nothing else seems likely. Cf. Hom. *Il.*13.441; Tyrt. Fr. 19.18.

Fr. 21

Col. i.

2 **φυγῆν**. This is the only surviving Aeolic infinitive in the *corpus*; commonest is the Attic form, e.g. πολεμε[ῖν (fr. 12 col. i. 8), κλαίειν (244); there is also evidence for at least one Chian/Euboean infinitive εἶν (fr. 12

[24] Vid. p. 59.

col. i. 7) and one unusual Rhodian/Sicilian Doric form εἴμειν (P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 13.5). Vid. Buck 2001.153. φυγῆν: on the papyrus beneath the ῆ, the commentator has written ει noting the dialect form.

Col. ii.

6 *N̄* ῑ̣ ̣ ̣[: concerning the importance of this stichometric letter vid. p. 27. This replaces the one struck out below on line 10. For others elsewhere in the *corpus* vid. S. 133 col. ii. 'A'; 222A. 299 'Γ.'

Fr. 22–23

It is possible that these two fragments refer to Eurytion who guards the cattle of Geryon, perhaps as some dialogue between Geryon and the herdsman. If so, its placement should be quite early in the song, somewhere between fr. 1 and fr. 5.

Fr. 22

2 φυ]λ̣άσσει [: it is attractive to think that this refers to Eurytion who guards the cattle of Geryon. However, at least one other alternative is that Poseidon is watching over Geryon vid. fr. 10.5–10. Cf. Hom. *Od.*15.35.

3 με]ίλιχον [: 'gentle', often in epic of words, e.g. Hom. *Od.*8.172, also common is its privative form, e.g. Hom. *Il.*9.572.

Fr. 23

3]ν̣ομῆα[: epic accusative of νομεύς, 'shepherd'. Cf. Hom. *Il.*11.697 et al. If this is correct it must surely be Eurytion.

Fr. 24

3] ̣ []ρ̣εςηλύθον ε ̣[: cf. Hom. *Od.*14.410, 21.422.

Fr. 25

2 Ἅ]φαιστος: possibly as the maker of the golden cup that carries Herakles across the water. Its position thus may be in the vicinity of fr. 1. In epic poetry Hephaistos crafts many objects both for gods, e.g. Hom. *Il.*1.606–608 and mortals, e.g. 8.194–195. Ἅ]φαιστος ε ̣[: cf. *Od.*7.92 Ἥφαιστος ἔτευξεν.

Fr. 26

4] []**Γ̣αϱυ̣**[**όν**-: a small but crucial fragment helping to confirm the ascription of P.Oxy. 2617.

APPENDICES

I. *Testimonia*[1]

T(estimonium) 1. *Suid.* Σ 1095 (4.433 Adler).

Στησίχορος· Εὐφόρβου ἢ Εὐφήμου, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι Εὐκλείδου ἢ Εὐέτους ἢ Ἡσιόδου. ἐκ πόλεως Ἱμέρας τῆς Σικελίας· καλεῖται γοῦν Ἱμεραῖος· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ματαυρίας τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαντίου τῆς Ἀρκαδίας φυγόντα αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν φασιν εἰς Κατάνην κἀκεῖ τελευτῆσαι καὶ ταφῆναι πρὸ τῆς πύλης, ἥτις ἐξ αὐτοῦ Στησιχόρειος προσηγόρευται. τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ἦν νεώτερος Ἀλκμᾶνος τοῦ λυρικοῦ, ἐπὶ τῆς λζʹ/ Ὀλυμπιάδος γεγονώς. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς νϝʹ/. εἶχε δὲ ἀδελφὸν γεωμετρίας ἔμπειρον Μαμερτῖνον καὶ ἕτερον Ἡλιάνακτα νομοθέτην. γέγονε δὲ λυρικός. καί ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τὰ ποιήματα Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ἐν βιβλίοις κϝʹ/. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν γράψαντα ψόγον Ἑλένης τυφλωθῆναι, πάλιν δὲ γράψαντα Ἑλένης ἐγκώμιον ἐξ ὀνείρου, τὴν παλινῳδίαν, ἀναβλέψαι. ἐκλήθη δὲ Στησίχορος ὅτι πρῶτος κιθαρῳδίᾳ χορὸν ἔστησεν· ἐπεί τοι πρότερον Τισίας ἐκαλεῖτο.

Stesichoros: son of Euphorbos or Euphemos, or for others, son of Eukleidos, or Euetos, or Hesiod. From the city of Himera in Sicily, well at least he is called the Himerean; but others say that he came from Matauria in Italy. Whereas others say that he fled Pallantion in Arkadia and came to Katana and there he died and was buried by the gate which is called the Stesichorean after him. In time he was younger than the lyric poet Alkman being born in the 37th Olympiad: he died in the 56th. He had a brother Mamertinos, an expert geometrician, and another Helianax, a lawgiver. [Stesichoros] had become a lyric poet. His poems were in the Doric dialect and in 26 books. They say that he was blinded for writing abuse about Helen and his sight returned after writing an encomium of Helen, the Palinode, as the result of a dream. He was called Stesichoros

[1] The testimonia cited here are selective. There are many references to Stesichoros in the ancient world: the ones quoted in this chapter are chosen because of their biographical importance; others that relate to stylistic features of Stesichoros's poetry are cited throughout in later chapters. For a general overview of all the testimonia vid. Ercoles 2008.

because he was the first to set up a choros to the kithara. He was originally called Tisias.

T 2. Cic. *De Rep.*2.20 = Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 337, neque enim Steischor]us ne[pos ei]us, ut di[xeru]nt quid[am, e]x filia. quo [enim] ille mor[tuus, e]odem [est an]no na[tus Si]moni[des ol]ympia[de se]xta et quin[quag]esima.

For indeed Stesichoros is not his (Hesiod's) grandson, as some have claimed, from his mother's side, for he died in the year in which Simonides was born, in the 56th Olympiad.

T 3. Euseb. *Chron.* Ol.42.2 (p. 98b Helm) Stesichorus poeta clarus habetur; Ol.55.1 (p. 102b Helm) Stesichorus moritur.

Olympiad 42.2: The poet Stesichoros was regarded as famous; Olympiad 55.1: Stesichoros died.

T 4. Suid. Σ.107 (4.322s. Adler) Σαπφώ· … λυρική, γεγονυῖα κατὰ τὴν μβ´/ Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἦν καὶ Στησίχορος καὶ Πιττακός …

Sappho: … the lyric poetess, flourished in the 42nd Olympiad, when Alkaios, Stesichoros, and Pittakos were too (flourishing).

T 5. Tzetz. *Vit. Hes.*18 (p. 38 Colonna) ὁ δὲ Στησίχορος οὗτος σύγχρονος ἦν Πυθαγόρᾳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀκραγαντίνῳ Φαλάριδι.

This Stesichoros was contemporary with the philosopher Pythagoras and Phalaris of Akragas.

T 6. *Marm. Par.* Ep.50. (*FGrH* 2 B 999) ἀφ' οὗ Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς τραγωδίᾳ πρῶτον ἐνίκησε καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐγένετο καὶ Στησίχορος ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φιλοκράτους.

From the time when the poet Aischylos first won a victory with the tragedy and the poet Euripides was born and the poet Stesichoros arrived in Greece in 222 years, the in archonship of Philokrates.

T 7. [Luc.] Macr.26 (1.81. Macleod) Ἀνακρέων δὲ ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητὴς ἔζησεν ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ Στησίχορος δὲ ὁ μελοποίος ταὐτά, Σιμωνίδης δὲ ὁ Κεῖος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα.

Anakreon, the lyric poet lived for eighty-five years, and Stesichoros, the lyric poet the same (number of years), and Simonides of Keios for over ninety years.

T 8. Steph. Byz. s.v. Matauros (1.437 Meineke). πόλις Σικελίας,[2] Λοκρῶν κτίσμα· ὁ πολίτης Ματαυρῖνος. Στησίχορος Εὐφήμου παῖς Ματαυρῖνος γένος, ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητής.

[Matauros]: a city in Sicily, founded by the Lokrians. The citizen is a Mataurine. The melic poet Stesichoros was a Mataurine by birth, son of Euphemos.

T 9. Tzetz. *Vit. Hes.*18 (p. 38 Colonna) = Arist. fr. 565 Rose ἐν τῇ Ὀρχομενίων πολιτείᾳ Στησίχορον τὸν μελοποιὸν εἶναί φησιν υἱὸν Ἡσιόδου ἐκ τῆς Κτιμένης.

In the *Constitution of Orchomenos*, he says (Aristotle(?)) that Stesichoros, the lyric poet, was the son of Hesiod by Ktimene.

T 10. Σ Procl. Hes. *Op.*271a (p. 92 Pertusi) = Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 213 ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι υἱὸς Ἡσιόδου †Μνασέας ἐστὶ· Φιλόχορος δὲ Στησίχορόν φησι τὸν ἀπὸ Κλυμένης· ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρχιέπης.

One must know that the son of Hesiod is Mnaseas; but Philochoros says it is Stesichoros, the son of Klymene; others (say it was) Archiepes.

T 11. Pl. *Phaedr.*244a, ὅν δὲ μέλλω λέγειν (sc. λόγον) Στησιχόρου τοῦ Εὐφήμου.

But the words which I intend to quote are Stesichoros's, the son of Euphemos.

T 12. *I.G.*14. 1213 (p. 318 Kaibel) Σ]τησίχορ[ος Ε]ὐκλείδο[υ Ἱμερραῖο[ς.

Stesichoros of Himera, the son of Euklides.

T 13. *Marm. Par.* Ep.73, ἀφ' οὗ Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ὁ δεύτερος ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησιν, καὶ οἰκίσθη Μεγάλη πόλις.

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[2] In actual fact Matauron is in southern Italy, north of Rhegium. For a detailed map vid. Dunbabin. 1948.

From the time (when) the second Stesichoros of Himera was victorious in Athens, Megalopolis was founded.

T 14. Procl. In Euclid *Prolog.*2 (65.11 Friedlein) μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (sc. θαλῆν) Μάμερκος ὁ Στησιχόρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀδελφὸς ὡς ἐφαψάμενος τῆς περὶ γεωμετρίαν σπουδῆς μνημονεύεται. καὶ Ἱππίας ὁ Ἠλεῖος (86 B 12 D.-K.) ἱστόρησεν ὡς ἐπὶ γεωμετρίᾳ δόξαν αὐτοῦ λαβόντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Πυθαγόρας …

After Thales, Mamerkos, the brother of the poet Stesichoros, is remembered as having applied himself to the study of geometry. And Hippias of Elis related how he had acquired fame for his pursuits in geometry. In addition to these was Pythagoras ….

T 15. Plin. *H.N.*2.54, viri ingentes supraque mortalia, tantorum numinum lege deprehensa et misera hominum mente iam soluta, in defectibus scelera aut mortem aliquam siderum pavente—quo in metu fuisse Stesichori et Pindari vatum sublimia ora palam est deliquio solis …

O great heroes, superior to mortal men, who having discovered the law of so great divinities (sc. sun and moon), releasing the misery from the mind of men, who in the eclipses of the stars feared evil things and some death,—the sublime strains of the poets, Steischoros and Pindar were clearly in fear, at the eclipse of the sun ….

T 16. Plut. *de fac. in orbe lun.*19.931e, εἰ δὲ μή, Θέων ἡμῖν οὗτος τὸν Μίμνερμον ἐπάξει καὶ τὸν Κυδίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν Στησίχορον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν ὀλοφυρομένους, ἄστρον φανερώτατον κλεπτόμενον καὶ μέσῳ ἄματι νύκτα γινομέναν [unidentified Stesichoros quotation] καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἡλίου σκότους ἀτραπόν.

If you cannot (remember the last eclipse), Theon here will quote to us Mimnermos and Kydias and Archilochos, and in addition to these, Stesichoros and Pindar lamenting during the eclipses, (by saying) 'the most shining star is stolen', and 'it has become night in the middle of the day'.

T 17. Phalar *Ep.*67.1 Ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἱμέραν ἀναγκαίας ἕνεκα πραγματείας ἤκουσα τῶν Στησιχόρου θυγατέρων ποιήματα λυριζουσῶν, ἃ μὲν αὐτοῦ Στησιχόρου γεγραφότος.

Due to urgent business I arrived in Himera and heard the songs of Stesichoros's lyre-playing daughters, which Stesichoros himself had composed.

T 18. Arist. *Rh.*2.20.5–6 λόγος δὲ οἷος ὁ Στησιχόρου περὶ Φαλάριδος . . . · Στησίχορος μὲν γὰρ ἑλομένων στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Ἱμεραίων Φάλαριν καὶ μελλόντων φυλακὴν διδόναι τοῦ σώματος τἄλλα διαλεχθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λόγον, . . . · οὕτω 'δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς,' ἔφη, 'ὁρᾶτε μὴ βουλόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους τιμωρήσασθαι ταὐτὸ πάθητε τῷ ἵππῳ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ χαλινὸν ἔχετε ἤδη, ἑλόμενοι στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα· ἐὰν δὲ φυλακὴν δῶτε καὶ ἀναβῆναι ἐάσητε, δουλεύσετε ἤδη Φαλάριδι'.

There is such a story by Stesichoros regarding Phalaris . . .; when Himeraeans picked Phalaris as general with complete power and were about to give him a bodyguard, Stesichoros, concluding the story and said to them . . .: 'so [as in the fable] he said, 'you too must take heed that in your willingness to punish your enemies you suffer yourselves in the same (plight) as the horse:[3] by choosing the general with absolute power you already have [in your mouth] the bridle bit; should you give him a bodyguard and so let him to mount you, immediately you will be enslaved by Phalaris.' '

T 19. Arist. *Rh.*2.21 1394b–1395a (p. 119 Kassel) ἁρμόττει δ' ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις . . . τὰ αἰνιγματώδη, οἷον εἴ τις λέγει ὅπερ Στησίχορος ἐν Λοκροῖς εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑβριστὰς εἶναι, ὅπως μὴ οἱ τέττιγες χαμόθεν ᾄδωσιν.

In such cases the enigmatic sayings are fitting, (for example) if one were to say one that Stesichoros said to the Lokrians, 'it is not necessary for you to be hybristic, lest the cicadas sing from the ground'.

T 20. Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1 (XLII) = Phot. *Bibl.* (3.31 sq. Henry) Ἡ μβʹ ὡς Γέλων ὁ Σικελιώτης τυρρανίδι ἐπιθέσθαι διανοούμενος Ἱμεραίων ἐθεράπευε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ὑπερεμάχει, καὶ αὐτὸν ἠγάπα τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος αἰτοῦντι ὥρμᾶτο διδόναι. Στησίχορος δ' ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ποιητὴς ὑποτοπήσας ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτὸν τυραννίδι, στὰς αἶνον ἔλεξεν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, εἰκόνα τοῦ μέλλοντος πά-

[3] Of the fable.

θους.῞Ιππος, φησι, νεμόμενος ἐφοίτα πιούμενος ἐπὶ κρήνην, ἔλαφος δὲ τὸ πεδίον διαθέουσα τήν τε πόαν κατέστειβε καὶ τὸ νᾶμα ἐτάραττε. Καὶ ὁ ἵππος ποθῶν τὴν ἀδικοῦσαν τιμωρῆσαι, τάχει δὲ ποδῶν λειπόμενος, ἄνδρα κυνηγέτην βοηθὸν ἐκάλει· ὁ δὲ εἰ χαλινὸν δέξοιτο καὶ ἀναβάτην, ῥᾷστα ἀμύνειν αὐτῷ ὑπισχνεῖτο. Καὶ ἐγίνετο οὕτω, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἔλαφος ἀκοντίοις ἔκειτο βληθεῖσα, ὁ δ' ἵππος ᾔσθετο δεδουλωμένος τῷ κυνηγέτῃ· τοῦτ', ἔφη, δέδοικα καὶ αὐτός, ὦ Ἱμεραῖοι, μὴ νῦν δῆμος ὄντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν διὰ Γέλωνος περιγένησθε, αὐτοὶ δ' ὕστερον Γέλωνι δουλεύσητε· φίλην γὰρ ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν τῷ λαβόντι ἐπὶ τὸν δόντα εἶναι, ὅταν ὥσπερ δοῦναι αὐτὴν μηκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου κομίσασθαι ἔχῃ.

The forty-second, how Gelon the Sicilian, intending to attempt for himself (the establishment of) a tyranny over the Himeraeans, paid court to the people and was fighting on behalf of the people against the powerful. The multitude love him and was keen to give him a bodyguard when he asked for one. Stesichoros, the poet of Himera, however, suspecting him of trying to set up a tyranny, and having stood up he told a fable to the crowd, an image of the changes that were about to take place. 'A horse', he said, 'grazing used to pay a visit to the spring with the purpose of drinking from it, but a hind running across the plain treaded down the grass and stirred up the water of the spring. The horse, anxious to punish the wrong-doer, was however, inferior in respect to swiftness of feet, called a huntsman for help. And he readily promised to aid the horse, if it accepted the bridle and the rider. And so it happened, and while the hind lay struck by javelins and horse perceived that it had become enslaved by the huntsman. This', he said, 'I fear myself (will happen here), O Himeraeans, lest you overcome your enemies being now a *demos* by the agency of Gelon, but later you yourselves become slaves to Gelon'. For (Stesichoros said) the one taking absolute power against the giver it is pleasing, when the latter is no longer able to recover the power by the same means as he gave it.

T 21. Philodem. *Mus.*1. 30. 31ss. (p. 18 Kemke)) καὶ περὶ Στησιχ[όρ]ου δ' ἱστορεῖται διότι τῶν [ἀστῶ]ν[4] ἀν[τι]παρατεταγμένων [ἤδη] καταστὰς ἐν μέσοις [ῇσέ τι παρα]κλητικὸν καὶ δια[λλάξ]α[ς] διὰ τοῦ μέλου[ς εἰς ἡσυχ]ίαν αὐτοὺς μετέσ[τησεν.

[4] The Lokrians?

Regarding Stesichoros, it is related that when the citizens were drawn up to do battle with each other he stood up between them and sang a song of exhortation and reconciling them he restored the peace with his song.

T 22. Himer. *Or.*27.27 τὴν δὲ Ἱμέραν τὴν Σικελικὴν οὐκ ἐλευθέραν ποιεῖ μόνον τῶν τυράννων ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις κοσμεῖ Στησίχορος.

Stesichoros not only liberates Sicilian Himera from the tyrants, but he also adorns (the city) with words.

T 23. Paus.3.19.11–13 ὃν δὲ οἶδα λέγοντας Κροτωνιάτας περὶ Ἑλένης λόγον, ὁμολογοῦντας δέ σφισι καὶ Ἱμεραίους, ἐπιμνησθήσομαι καὶ τοῦδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ νῆσος κατὰ τοῦ Ἴστρου τὰς ἐκβολὰς Ἀχιλλέως ἱερά· ὄνομα μὲν τῇ νήσῳ Λευκή … ἐς ταύτην πρῶτος ἐσπλεῦσαι λέγεται Κροτωνιάτης Λεώνυμος. πολέμου γὰρ Κροτωνιάταις συνεστηκότος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Λοκρούς, τῶν Λοκρῶν κατὰ οἰκειότητα πρὸς Ὀπουντίους Αἴαντα τὸν Ὀιλέως ἐς τὰς μάχας ἐπικαλουμένων, ὁ Λεώνυμος Κροτωνιάταις στρατηγῶν ἐπῄει τοῖς ἐναντίοις κατὰ τοῦτο ᾗ προτετάχθαι σφίσι τὸν Αἴαντα ἤκουε. τιτρώσκεται δὴ τὸ στέρνον καὶ—ἔκαμνε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος—ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφούς. ἐλθόντα δὲ ἡ Πυθία Λεώνυμον ἀπέστελλεν ἐς νῆσον τὴν Λευκήν, ἐνταῦθα εἰποῦσα αὐτῷ φανήσεσθαι τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἀκέσεσθαι τὸ τραῦμα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ὑγιάνας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Λευκῆς, ἰδεῖν μὲν ἔφασκεν Ἀχιλλέα, ἰδεῖν δὲ τὸν Ὀιλέως καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν σφισι καὶ Ἀντίλοχον· Ἑλένην δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν συνοικεῖν, προστάξαι δέ οἱ πλεύσαντι ἐς Ἱμέραν πρὸς Στησίχορον ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἡ διαφθορὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ Ἑλένης γένοιτο αὐτῷ μηνίματος. Στησίχορος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν παλινῳδίαν ἐποίησεν·

I will recall to mind a story I know which the Krotoniates say about Helen, and the Himeraeans agree with them. In the Black sea off the mouths of the Danube there is an island, sacred to Achilles; the name of the island is White Island … the first one said to sail to this island was a Krotoniate Leonymos. For when the war had arisen between the people of Kroton and the Lokrians in Italy, and the Lokrians because of their friendship with the Opuntian Lokrians used to call upon Aias, the son of Oileos, into their battles. Leonymos, being the general of the Krotoniates, attacked the enemy at that point where he heard Aias had taken his positioning their ranks. He was wounded in the chest and—still suffering from a wound—went to Delphi. The Pythian priestess sent him away to go to the White

Island, and going there Aias would appear to him and heal his wound. In time he was healed and returned home from the White Island, and claimed that he had seen Achilles, as well as Aias, the son of Oileos, and Aias, the son of Telemon, and that Patroklos and Antilochos were with them. Helen lived with Achilles, and she had ordered him to sail to Himera and tell Stesichoros that the blight of his eyes was brought about by her wrath. Upon (hearing) this, Stesichoros composed the Palinode.

T 24. Plin. *HN.*10.82 breviterque omnia tam parvulis in faucibus quae tot exquisitis tibiarum tormentis ars hominum excogitavit, non ut sit dubium hanc suavitatem praemonstratam efficaci auspicio cum in ore Stesichori cecinit infantis.

and briefly all the devices in that tiny throat which human science had devised with careful designs of flutes so it was no doubt that this sweetness (of his voice) was predicted by a sure omen, when the [luscinia] sang on the infant Stesichoros' lips.

T 25. Plut. *de Mus.*12 1135c, ἔστι δὲ ⟨καὶ⟩ τις Ἀλκμανικὴ καινοτομία καὶ Στησιχόρειος, καὶ αὗται οὐκ ἀφεστῶσαι τοῦ καλοῦ.

There was some of Alkman's and Stesichoros's innovation (sc. in the metre), and these should not be removed from the good (style).

T 26. Hor. *Carm.*4. 9. 6–8 non, si priores Maeonius tenet|sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent|Ceaeque et Alcaei minaces|Stesichorive graves Camenae.

(Even) if Maeonius Homer holds first places, the songs of Pindar and the Keian (Simonides), the threatening songs of Alkaios and the grave songs of Stesichoros are not hidden.

T 27. D.H. *Comp.*24 πᾶς γὰρ αὐτῷ τόπος, ὅτου τις ἂν ἅψηται, ταῖς τε αὐστηραῖς καὶ ταῖς γλαφυραῖς ἁρμονίαις εἰς ἄκρον διαπεποίκιλται. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσοι τὴν αὐτὴν μεσότητα ἐπετήδευσαν … ἀξιοθέατοι, μελοποιῶν μὲν Στησίχορός τε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος.

Every passage by him (Homer), wherever one chooses to touch upon, has been adorned with rough and polished harmonies to the point (of perfection). Of the others who practised this intermediate style … well worth seeing among the lyric poets is Stesichoros and Alkaios.

T 28. Longin. *de subl.*13.3 μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο; Στησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον ὅ τε Ἀρχίλοχος, πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων....

Was Herodotos the only one to become most Homeric? (No), Stesichoros was earlier still, and Archilochos, and indeed more than these was Plato ....

T 29. *A.P.*9. 184.3 ... Ὁμηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ῥεῦμα ἔσπασας οἰκείοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις.

... and you, O Stesichoros, who drew from the Homeric stream into your own works.

T 30. Phalar. *Ep.*54.2 καὶ ἐν μὲν Ἱμέρᾳ νεὼς ἱστάσθω, Στησιχόρου μνημεῖον ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον.

And in Himera let a temple be erected, an immortal monument of Stesichoros's virtue.

T 31. Phot. *Lex.* (1. 52 Naber) πάντα ὀκτώ· οἱ μὲν Στησίχορόν φασιν ἐν Κατάνῃ ταφῆναι πολυτελῶς πρὸς ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Στησιχορείοις λεγομέναις πύλαις καὶ τοῦ μνημείου ἔχοντος ὀκτὼ κίονας καὶ ὀκτὼ βαθμοὺς καὶ ὀκτὼ γωνίας.

All eight: They say Stesichoros received an expensive burial in Katana by the gates called Stesichorean after him, and his memorial had eight pillars, eight steps and eight corners.

T 32. Pollux 9.100 (2.175 Bethe) καὶ μὴν καὶ Στησίχορος ἐκαλεῖτό τις παρὰ τοῖς ἀστραγαλίζουσιν ἀριθμός, ὃς ἐδήλου τὰ ὀκτώ· τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἱμέρᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τάφον ἐξ ὀκτὼ πάντων συντεθέντα πεποιηκέναι τὴν 'παντ' φασι παροιμίαν.

... and more besides, among dice players any throw that came to eight was called Stesichoros; for they say that the poet's tomb in Himera was built from no more than eight (sides), forming the proverbial expression 'eight sides'.

T 33. *A.P.*7.75 Στασίχορον ζαπληθὲς ἀμέτρητον στόμα Μούσας|ἐκτέρισεν Κατάνας αἰθαλόεν δάπεδον|οὗ κατὰ Πυθαγόρεω φυσικὰν φάτιν ἁ πρὶν Ὁμήρου|ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις δεύτερον ᾤκισατο.

Stasichoros, the full and measureless voice of the Muse, was buried in the black land of Katana. According to the words of Pythagoras on nature, the soul that was formerly Homer's found a second home in his breast.

T 34 Quint. *Inst.*10.1.62, Stesichorum quam sit ingenio validus materiae quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem. reddit enim personis in agendo simul loquendoque debitam dignitatem, ac si tenuisset modum videtur aemulari proximus Homerum potuisse.

so this is how great Stesichoros' genius is and the [subject] matters show this, when singing of the most important battles and the most famous commanders, sustaining on the lyre the weight of epic song. Indeed, he gives due dignity to his characters both in action and in speech and if he could hold back a little he might be seen to be a close rival of Homer: but he is redundant and verbose, for in this respect he is at fault, yes there is an abundance of this fault.

T 35 (Ps. Plu.1132b–c) οὐ λελυμένην δὲ εἶναι τῶν προειρημένων τὴν τῶν ποιημάτων λέξιν καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων μελοποιῶν, οἳ ποιοῦντες ἔπη τούτοις μέλη περιετίθεσαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Τέρπανδρον ἔφη κιθαρῳδικῶν ποιητὴν ὄντα νόμων κατὰ νόμον ἕκαστον τοῖς ἔπεσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου μέλη περιτιθέντα ᾄδειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν.

In the compositions of these poets they had no looseness in style and metre, but like those of Stesichoros and the ancient lyric poets, who composing songs laced their lyric poetry in these [dactylic metres]. For it was said that Terpander was a poet of kitharodic nomes, and he set music in each nome to his own [hexameters] as well as Homer's, and sang them in contests.

II. *Additional Sources*

Paus.9.11.2 τοῦτο μὲν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι γραφῆναι λέγουσιν· ἐπιδεικνύουσι δὲ Ἡρακλέους τῶν παίδων τῶν ἐκ Μεγάρας μνῆμα, οὐδέν τι ἀλλοίως τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον λέγοντες ἢ Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος καὶ Πανύασσις ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίσαν.

This was the inscription that the Thebans say was written here. They also show the tomb of the children of Herakles by Megara. The things that say about his death are in no way different from the accounts given by Stesichoros of Himera and Panyassis in their poems.

Vid. T 33 supra.

Vid. T 34 supra.

Vid. T 35 supra = Heracl. Pont. Fr. 157 Wehrli.

Dio Chrysostom 55.7 [Dio.] Στησίχορος δὲ μελοποιὸς ἦν. [Int.] Ναι· τοῦτο γε ἅπαντές φασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, Στησίχορον Ὁμήρου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐοικέναι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν.

[Dio] Stesichoros was a lyric poet. [Int] Yes. All the Greeks say this, Stesichoros became an emulator of Homer and very much (sc. Stesichoros's verse) seemed to resemble (Homer's) poetry.

III. *Eastern Parallels*

In the Vedic tradition:[5]

RV 1.32.1–8

इन्द्रस्य नु वीर्याणि प्र वोचं यानि चकार प्रथमानि वज्री ।
अहन्नहिमन्वपस्ततर्द प्र वक्षणा अभिनत्पर्वतानाम् ॥
अहन्नहिं पर्वते शिश्रियाणं त्वष्टास्मै वज्रं स्वर्यं ततक्ष ।
वाश्रा इव धेनवः स्यन्दमाना अञ्जः समुद्रमव जग्मुरापः ॥
वृषायमाणोऽवृणीत सोमं त्रिकद्रुकेष्वपिबत्सुतस्य ।
आ सायकं मघवादत्त वज्रमहन्नेनं प्रथमजामहीनाम् ॥
यदिन्द्राहन्प्रथमजामहीनामान्मायिनाममिनाः प्रोत मायाः ।
आत्सूर्यं जनयन्द्यामुषासं तादीत्ना शत्रुं न किला विवित्से ॥
अहन्वृत्रं वृत्रतरं व्यंसमिन्द्रो वज्रेण महता वधेन ।
स्कन्धांसीव कुलिशेना विवृक्णाहिः शयत उपपृक्पृथिव्याः ॥

[5] All translations of Vedic texts are mine.

अयोद्धेव दुर्मद आ हि जुह्वे महावीरं तुविबाधमृजीषम् ।
नातारीदस्य समृतिं वधानां सं रुजानः पिपिष इन्द्रशत्रुः ॥
अपादहस्तो अपृतन्यदिन्द्रमास्य वज्रमधि सानौ जघान ।
वृष्णो वध्रिः प्रतिमानं बुभूषन्पुरुत्रा वृत्रो अशयद्व्यस्तः ॥
नदं न भिन्नममुया शयानं मनो रुहाणा अति यन्त्यापः ।
याश्चिद्वृत्रो महिना पर्यतिष्ठत्तासामहिः पत्सुतःशीर्बभूव ॥

I will now declare the heroic deeds of Indra which he the holder of the thunderbolt first achieved. He killed the serpent, released the waters and split open the bellies of the cloud mountains. He slew the serpent lying on the mountain: Twashtar made the whizzing thunderbolt for that man (Indra). Just like lowing cattle, the waters suddenly went flowing down towards the sea. Showing his manly strength he chose soma; he drank a little of the extract contained in soma beakers. The Rewarder [i.e. Indra] took a thunderbolt suitable for throwing and smote him—the first-born of the serpents. Indra when you slew the first-born of the serpents and (going) onward brought low the supernatural powers of wily men thereupon causing the sun, dawn and heaven to come into being, you then could not indeed find for yourself an enemy. Indra slew Viansa, the worse demon, with his great and deadly thunderbolt, just like the branches of a tree cut down by an axe he lay clinging close to the earth. For like a drunken coward Vṛtra had challenged the impetuous, great hero, he who distresses many. He did not survive the shock of his deadly weapons, enemy of Indra crushed together the rifts.[6] Without hands and without feet he fought Indra, you who had smote him with the thunderbolt on his back. Emasculated, he desired to be a match for the real man, (thus) Vṛtra lay broken in pieces all around. Over him, lying so, crushed like a reed, the waters of man, flowing, do go. The serpent was lying at the feet of those (waters), the very ones that mighty Vṛtra had surrounded.

RV 10.8.8–9

स पित्र्याण्यायुधानि विद्वानिन्द्रेषित आप्त्यो अभ्ययुध्यत् ।
त्रिशीर्षाणं सप्तरश्मिं जघन्वान्त्वाष्ट्रस्य चिन्निः ससृजे त्रितो गाः
भूरीदिन्द्र उदिनक्षन्तमोजोऽवाभिनत् सत्पतिर्मन्यमानम् ।
त्वाष्ट्रस्य चिद्विश्वरूपस्य गोनामाचक्राणस्त्रीणि शीर्षा परा वर्क् ॥

[6] I.e. Vṛtra in his fall was crushed into a shapeless mass.

He knowing his paternal weapons, Aptya, sent by Indra, fought. Trita struck the three-headed, seven-rayed one, and released the cattle of Twashtar's son. Lord Indra pierced the one desiring to attain great strength and thinking himself (to be mighty), he smote the three heads off and appropriated the oxen of Viçvarupa, son of Twashtar.

In the Iranian tradition:[7]

Yasna 9.8

ýô janat azhîm dahâkem thrizafanem thrikameredhem xshvash-ashîm hazangrâ-ýaoxshtîm ashaojanghem daêvîm drujem akhem gaêthâvyô drvañtem ýãm ashaojastemãm drujem fraca kereñtat angrô mainyush aoi ýãm astvaitîm gaêthãm mahrkâi ashahe gaêthanãm.

who smote the serpent Dahaka, three-jawed and triple-headed, six eyed, with thousand powers, and of mighty strength, a lie-demon of the Daevas, evil for our settlements, and wicked, whom the evil spirit Angra Mainyu made as the most mighty Drug(k), and for the murder of (our) settlements, and to slay the (homes) of Asha.

et *Aban Yast* 5.9.34

âat hîm jaidhyat, avat âyaptem dazdi-mê vanguhi sevishte aredvî sûre anâhite ýat bavâni aiwi-vanyå azhîm dahâkem thrizafanem thrikameredhem xshvash-ashîm hazangrâ-ýaoxshtîm ashaojanghem daêvîm drujem akhem gaêthâvyô drvrañtem ýãm ashaojastemãm drujem fraca kereñtat angrô mainyush aoi ýãm astvaitîm gaêthãm mahrkâi ashahe gaêthanãm, uta-hê vañta azâni sanghavâci arenavâci ýôi hen kehrpa sraêshta zazâitêe gaêthyâi-tê ýôi abdôteme.

He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita, that I may overcome Azi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug(k), that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug(k) that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghava*k* and Erenava*k*, who are the fairest of body amongst women and the most wonderful creatures in the world'.

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[7] All translations of Iranian texts are by Darmesteter.

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Fr. 2 = S. 21	Fr. 15 = S. 19
Fr. 3 = S. 8	Fr. 16 = S. 20
Fr. 4 = S. 16	Fr. 17 = S. 23
Fr. 5 = S. 10	Fr. 18 = S. 24
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Fr. 7 = S. 11	Fr. 20 = S. 26
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